Germanic Elements in French Toponymy
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The principal aims of this study are two-fold. The first is to survey previous research in the field and to discuss the main questions concerning the origins and significance of the Germanic elements in the place-names of France. To this end the work done by leading specialists from the late 19th to the mid 20th centuries is studied. By comparing their findings an attempt is made at sifting through the various hypotheses and at gaining an idea of present knowledge in this area.

The second objective is to classify the different types of place-names containing Germanic elements. Using typical examples, each of these categories is examined in turn. The information derived from several thousand examples is used to produce maps showing geographic distribution of the most important place-name types. These provide new insights into the extent of Germanic settlement and its lasting influence in the French-speaking world.
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I. A Consideration of the State of Research to Date

A. General Studies

Toponymy is the study of place-names, a multi-faceted study concerned with various human sciences, notably linguistics, geography, history and ethnology. A place-name gives an insight into the language of a particular ethnic group, often offers an indication or description of the physical lay-out of the area in question, serves to reflect an history or the commemoration of an incident or a period and may relate some valuable information about the characteristics of the race or tribe to which it owes its existence. The value of toponymy to the study of the social history of Europe is stressed by Ferdinand Lot in Les Invasions germaniques: "Remonter plus haut, les textes ne le permettent pas, mais à défaut de textes, la toponomastique et l'archéologie des tombes peuvent jeter des lueurs précieuses". Moreover, "veritable fossils of human geography", place-names indicate much about the movements and/or pattern of settlement of a people. Clearly the study of toponymy opens up a treasure-trove of information on the racial, historical and linguistic evolution of a people or country. As Godefroid Kurth puts it: "Les noms de lieux forment un mystérieux réservoir de souvenirs, dont beaucoup sont contemporains des premiers âges d'un peuple et qui, tous, ont quelque chose à nous raconter sur les hommes et les choses du passé."

In this dissertation the toponyms that have complete or partial Germanic origin of France and to a limited extent of Belgium will be examined with a view to better comprehending
their historical and linguistic evolution and significance. The study will focus on three fundamental aspects: origin, significance and transformation. The data here considered will be restricted to the names of inhabited places—towns, villages and more rarely hamlets. I shall begin by making a detailed assessment of the work done by scholars such as Auguste Longnon, Hermann Gröhler, Auguste Vincent, Albert Dauzat, Charles Rostaing, Franz Petri, Maurits Gysseling, Walter von Wartburg, Ernst Gamillscheg and Ferdinand Lot. The place-names themselves will then be examined, establishing a series of categories according to structural and semantic patterns in order to facilitate the evaluation of their significance.

The foundation of work done in French toponymy was laid principally during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We shall first review the contributions which various general studies have made to this science and then selected monographs limited to research concerning a particular aspect of toponymy. Perhaps more than anyone else Auguste Longnon, renowned French historian and geographer, aided this branch of knowledge to evolve from its position of the mere "cendrillon de la linguistique" to that of a serious and well-respected science. Albert Dauzat who followed in Longnon's footsteps at the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes praised his contribution and characterised him as "...le vrai fondateur de la toponymie française". Following are some of the highlights of Longnon's academic career and work in this field. In 1889 Longnon replaced Alfred Maury at the Collège de France, where from 1892 onwards he occupied the chair in historical geography. The salient aspect of
Longnon's period of instruction was his initiation of the study of place-names, a relative novelty, in addition to his original répertoire of seminars on history and geography. As early as 1879 he submitted a petition to the head of the historical and philological sciences department in order to request the inclusion of courses in toponymic studies of France to the regular syllabus. His estimation that a knowledge of the history and evolution of toponyms would reveal invaluable information about the history of France is clearly and concisely formulated in the concluding remark to his petition: "...et j'estime qu'il sortira même de cette seule portion du vaste cadre que je me trace, des lumières précieuses pour l'histoire de notre pays." Of course the "vaste cadre" mentioned refers to the immense field of research open to philologists in French toponymy of which, then and even now, whole areas remain virtually "terra incognita". During the whole of Longnon's scholarly activity he published but two works on the subject: his contribution to the Dictionnaire topographique de la France on the toponymy of the département of the Marne published in 1891 and the Atlas historique de la France of 1907.

After Longnon's death two of his disciples, Paul Marichal and Léon Mirot, undertook to preserve the work and reputation of their mentor in a book called Les noms de lieu de la France which was published in a series of five fascicles between 1920 and 1929. In this work all the place-names have been grouped into a series of chapters intended to facilitate examination. The chapters may be divided into two large groups: chapters one to sixty-one concern the racial, ethnic origin of the place-names and sixty-two to eighty-five relate to those toponyms
dealing with many aspects of human society and culture. By far the majority of the toponyms of which at least one element is Germanic is treated in the first group, of which chapters forty to forty-six deal with Teutonic origins according to the various tribes: Saxon, Burgundian, Gothic, Frankish and Scandinavian. Necessarily a certain number of Germanic toponyms would be found under such headings as "Hie"rarchie civile" where some names serve to recall the rule and influence of the Teutonic invaders during the Early Middle Ages.

In the first chapter devoted to the names of Germanic origin Longnon acknowledges the primacy of their contribution to French toponymy during the period approximately spanning the Vth to Xth centuries. All these chapters contain much historical background information on such topics as the routes of the "Völkerwanderung", the subsequent invasions and settlement of Gallia and the political events pertinent to the explanation of certain place-names or place-name types. Throughout it is manifest that Longnon's interest is, to a very high degree, historical. Indeed, rather surprisingly, little attention is paid to linguistic analysis which is such an essential element of toponymy.

Following the initial chapter relating to the consideration of the Germanic toponyms of the -ing type the remainder of the chapters concerns the names which can be attributed more or less with certainty to a particular Germanic tribe. The second chapter treating names of Saxon origin is divided into two sections one of which examines those in Normandy and organises them after a list of Germanic common nouns of Saxon origin such as -tun, -ham, -ig, -naes etc, whilst the other contains the
toponyms of Boulenois which are organised alphabetically. However, the toponyms of supposed Burgundian origin are organised alphabetically under the titles of certain "arrondissements" or départements of the area of former Burgundian colonisation. The chapter on Gothic names contains very little place-name analysis for two historical reasons: the Goths did not settle Gallia in great numbers and few documents exist to corroborate the origins of the toponyms. Nevertheless Longnon does consider a group of names ending in -ens < -ing occurring in southern France which, he asserts, are most likely of Gothic origin.

The arrangement of the very extensive section on Frankish origins is quite varied. The first chapter includes a series of sub-headings by common nouns which, according to Longnon, have been "...tiré(s) de la langue des Francs", for example: -bach, -strom, -fara, -lar/-lari, -loh, -ing and -oar. The remainder of the chapters are devoted to the study of those heterogeneous toponyms joining Romance and Frankish elements. During the next three chapters the compound place-names are grouped after certain Latin appellatives or common nouns: -cortis, -ville, -viller, -mansus, -monasterium, -cappella, -mons etc. Then Longnon examines those place-names owing their creation to a simple Germanic anthroponym and Romance element, whether suffix or appellative. For the sake of easier analysis the place-names formed from a compound Germanic anthroponym are listed alphabetically under the final element or, in the case of the names derived from a simple name, under that name. An example of the first sort is provided by Brêtencourt (Seine et Oise) derived from the compound Germanic anthroponym, Berthildis, classified
alphabetically under the heading of the second element -hildis. As for the second type of place-name, Goussancourt (Aisne) is listed alphabetically after the simple anthroponym, Gontio.

The section concerning those toponyms of Frankish origin is completed by a chapter on the "noms de rivières" which, though it lies without the limits of the focus of this dissertation, is worthy of mention. Although a great many of the names applied to bodies of water in France harken back to recondite pre-Latin and, often, pre-Celtic sources Longnon attempts to demonstrate that besides those names whose exteriors are manifestly Germanic there are others, Romance in appearance but formed through Germanic influence. A typically Germanic custom consists of designating a region or territory after its principal river or body of water. He then proceeds to elaborate his theory indicating certain adjectival endings which, during the Frankish period, were tacked onto Romance hydronyms in order to create names of various "pagi" or districts. In the conclusion Longnon advances the hypothesis that one may very well be able to ascertain the extent of Germanic settlement of Gallia Romana by noting the areas in which hydronyms in the Germanic suffixes -ain, -in, -an occur.

Finally Les noms de lieu treats the Germanic place-names of a rather later creation arising from the permanent establishment of the "Northmen" in the north of France, the name of the province attests their presence, Normandy. After a short historical exposé on the subject of the hostile incursions and later usurpations of French territory by the Northern invaders, Longnon commences a study of the toponyms of Scandinavian origin. It is interesting to note that he distinguishes between two types of
names of Scandinavian origin both of which are compound: firstly
Romance and Germanic elements combined with a final Norse
appellative and, secondly, a Scandinavian anthroponym combined
with the Romance suffix *-ville*. In Chapter fifty-five on the
place-names with Norse endings the toponyms have been arranged
alphabetically after certain Norse appellatives indicating either
a physical characteristic of the land or a type of habitation,
ie: *-bekkr, -budh, -bu, -dal, -gard, -grunn, -holm, -hus, -klif*
etc. Unfortunately Longnon contents himself with merely listing
the modern form of those place-names whose second element is
derived from Norse according to the appropriate appellative.
The département is indicated in parentheses but rarely, if ever,
are dates of attestation or early forms provided. Explanations
are chiefly semantic in nature and almost always restricted to
the Norse common nouns which constitute the final elements in
these composite toponyms. Longnon concludes with the observation
that this list does not purport to contain all the toponyms of
Scandinavian origin since there exists quite a number of compound
names of which some of the constituent elements may be Scandi­
avian; but, as these elements are akin to other Germanic
languages, this cannot be affirmed with any certitude. To
exemplify this difficulty he cites the names *Cherbourg, Montebourg*
and *Jabourg* all located in Normandy.18

The second type of place-name of Scandinavian descent outlined
by Longnon unites a Scandinavian anthroponym with the Romance
appellative *-ville*, so prolific in toponymic formations. Indeed
it is asserted that toponyms of this sort are quite numerous in
Normandy: "Les noms de lieux en *-ville* sont fort nombreux en
In order to gain a valid impression of the relative distribution of these -ville names throughout the province, a survey of the names of the individual "communes" was effected. The results are extremely illuminating since the areas of known concentrated Scandinavian colonisation possess a high percentage of these names. In consequence Longnon feels justified in suggesting that they may form a valuable gauge of the degree of settlement. Before proceeding to a consideration of this toponymic nomenclature he examines a few examples of names of communes whose first element is an adjective rather than an anthroponym. Place-names such as Belleville (Seine Mar.) are much less current than those preceded by a Scandinavian personal name.

As in all the toponymic studies conducted by Auguste Longnon, the historical, semantic side predominates rather than the linguistic, syntactic one. First of all, the place-names are studied according to the simple anthroponym from which they derive. These anthroponyms, given in their original form, were culled from an Icelandic historical work on the Norse settlement of that island. No information as to the early forms or their dates of attestation is indicated and, in the majority of cases, no explanation of the Scandinavian component. Of the toponyms with composite anthroponyms only a number of "théophores", names of divinities, are considered. Once again more historical than linguistic data are given. This ends the series of chapters in which Longnon devotes his attention to those place-names owing their formation, at least in part, to Germanic influence.
For the most part, the reception of Longnon's study of the place-names of France in Les noms de lieu was favourable. It is natural that the research contained in this work should represent a very valid and important contribution to that science. In the introduction to his Les noms de lieux, Albert Dauzat praises many of the points of the book and underscores its fundamental nature: "Les noms de lieu de la France, est, et restera longtemps, l'ouvrage de fond pour les noms de lieux habités..." At the same time, the work manifests a number of serious weaknesses and has thereby drawn some negative criticism from other specialists such as Hermann Gröhler. Longnon's somewhat exaggerated penchant for historical explanation, lack of attention to linguistic, phonetic aspects, insufficient use of early forms with appropriate dates, and sometimes even his method of organising the material have been the cause for reproach.

Hermann Gröhler, a contemporary of Longnon, produced a good general study entitled Über Ursprung und Bedeutung der Ortsnamen französischer Sprache comprising two volumes of which the first, published in 1913, concerns the toponyms derived from ancient Ligurian, Iberian, Phoenician, Greek, Gallic and Latin sources and the second, completed only in 1933, treats of the more recent Romance and Germanic toponymic nomenclature. It is noteworthy that although the first volume appeared well over seven years before Longnon's work the second took twenty years. The author blamed the long delay on certain annoying circumstances and financial troubles. We shall here concentrate on the second volume which contains the study of the Germanic toponyms. In the Foreword Gröhler pays homage to Longnon's lectures but
criticises certain weaknesses of *Les noms de lieu de la France*. He mentions also the works of other noted toponymists. With regard to Dauzat's *Les noms de lieux*, he praises it generally whilst affirming that the scope of the book is much more restricted than that of his own: "Auch das an sich vortreffliche Buch von Dauzat verfolgt ganz andere Absichten als das meine und bleibt nach dem Umfang des Gebotenen weit hinter dem vorliegenden zurück." To Auguste Vincent he feels obliged for a number of early forms of various place-names which furthered his own research. As to the goal of his work, Gröhler maintains that it should serve a broader readership and not merely a few academics. It is designed as a reference guide to aid both researchers and interested laymen: "Mein Buch ist in erster Linie als Nachschlagewerk gedacht, das außer dem Romanisten auch den Geographen und den gebildeten Laien interessieren wird."

Before launching into the examination of the toponyms Gröhler provides a little historical data divided into two sections: a very brief "Introduction to Christianity" followed by a longer history of the "Germanic Invasions" and a discussion of their tremendous influence in place-name formation. The method employed in organising the material of this second volume focuses upon five main categories. Certainly the first category on "Romance Place-names" is by far the most extensive, occupying well over two hundred pages (pp. 12-239). It has further been divided into seven sub-headings which serve to indicate the nature of the denomination, i.e.: i) names expressing settlement ii) names describing geographical characteristics iii) names indicating cover and state of the land iv) borders, streets, paths,
measures of distance  v) the three kingdoms of nature: animal, vegetable, mineral  vi) water names vii) river-names transferred to place-names. The second category is wholly devoted to the "Germanic Place-names" which are classified according to three groups:  i) common nouns of West Germanic origin  ii) common nouns of North Germanic origin iii) Germanic anthroponyms, further separated into those of West and North Germanic creation. The remaining categories almost exclusively concern non-Germanic toponyms. The third category combines several sub-divisions but, generally, studies the place-names which reflect political or religious influences. There is a section dealing with names by institutions of the feudal system in the Early Middle Ages (fiscus, feudum, honor etc.) accompanied by two chapters about the toponyms formulated from Christian nomenclature (basilica, oratorium, salvator, crux etc.) or from the names of saints or martyrs. Those place-names which do not seem to fit any of the previous classifications Grohler organised into a category entitled "Namen verschiedener Ursprungs". These include names drawn not only from Classical Latin appellatives but also from Vulgar Latin and French. The fifth and final category of "Namenübertragungen" considers place-name transfers which occurred on account of different political events. The vicissitudes of war and the accompanying changes in lords or sovereigns often brought about alterations or substitutions to reflect the new circumstances.

In his treatment of the Germanic toponyms of France, Gröhler, unlike Longnon, does not consider separately the place-names which derive from the dialects of various West Germanic tribes. Instead of grouping the names under the headings Saxon,
Gothic, Frankish, Burgundian and Longobardish, he unites them all under the collective designation of West Germanic common nouns. Naturally he makes the distinction between West Germanic and North Germanic or Scandinavian: "Ihrem Ursprunge nach haben wir zwei Gruppen zu unterscheiden: westgermanische Wörter, d.h. solche fränkischen, sächsischen, alemannischen, burgundischen Ursprungs, denen auch die westgotischen und wenige longobardische zugezählt werden mögen, und nordgermanische, die durch die Ansiedlung der Normannen eingeführt wurden und sich demgemäß auf die Normandie beschränken."  

The consideration of the West Germanic appellatives consists of a series of paragraphs devoted to one noun wherein it is interpreted etymologically and semantically and illustrated by appropriate toponyms. Only those toponyms to be found on the French side of the linguistic frontier are employed as examples. Some historical details about the employment of a particular appellative are often included. On the linguistic side, one is afforded etymological information with the variations in the Germanic dialects. Gröhler indicates the modern form, the location (département) and gives the early form(s) together with the dates of attestation in documents. In view of the large number of early forms furnished, it appears that Gröhler attaches rather more importance to them than does Auguste Longnon. In all some fifty-seven West Germanic appellatives from -burg to a hypothetical -wratja are treated with nine appellatives -buh, -bû, -thvëit, -toft, -flô, -holm, -oog, -huagr, and -hafn figuring in the classification of North Germanic or what Longnon calls Scandinavian.
Next Gröhler approaches the question of those place-names composed of either a simple Germanic anthroponym or an anthroponym in combination with a non-Germanic common noun or suffix. The section dealing with "Germanische Personennamen" is quite extensive due, of course, to the importance and frequency of this type of toponym in France. Preceding the examination of toponyms of this type is an historical introduction coupled with a linguistic explanation of the methods of formation of toponyms containing a personal name. As a result of the conquest, Gröhler explains, the Germanic personal names were adopted by the Gallo-Romans and hence were incorporated in the toponymy: "Nach der Unterwerfung Galliens durch die Barbaren mußten auch diese weichen und germanischen Namen Platz machen."\textsuperscript{33}

The greatest portion of the section on personal names concerns those of West Germanic derivation but there is a small part towards the end which looks at those of Old Norse origin. The arrangement of the material follows the alphabetical listing of the original form of the Germanic anthroponym from which the place-names reputedly derive. It is from Förstemann's eminent book on Germanic personal names, \textit{Altdeutsches Namenbuch},\textsuperscript{34} that Gröhler has culled the original forms. Naturally all the place-names in which the anthroponym is supposed to figure are accompanied by their appropriate early forms and dates of attestation. Additionally Gröhler provides some very illuminating observations on origin, evolution and distribution based on his rich documentation.

Although the great majority of the Germanic toponyms occur in the chapters already dealt with one can find a few more in such areas as those place-names reflecting political or religious
concepts. In the feudal period especially, one encountered Germanic place-names because the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties were Germanic. To cite only one example given by Gröhler, there are a goodly number of "lieux habités" in France and Belgium which originate from the Germanic compound substantive, all-ôd, or "entire property", a feudal term signifying an estate held not of a superior but in absolute ownership. Due to the combination of the conversion to Christianity of the Germanic tribes in France with the vogue for Germanic personal names amongst the conquered natives, it is not surprising to find toponyms in which Germanic names of saints figure. In the chapter on toponyms containing the names of saints, Gröhler has a section which treats those with Germanic saints' names which he borrowed from Förstemann.

The research and information provided by Gröhler have been recognised by most toponymists. Mirot and Marichal, editors of Longnon's Les noms de lieu de la France, laud Gröhler's contribution. Nevertheless various aspects of his work have attracted criticism from some academic quarters. In the preface to Albert Dauzat and Charles Rostaing's Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France, though his method is said to have an advantage over that of Longnon in that it furnishes "des formes anciennes souvent bien datées", he is criticised for gaps in his information and weaknesses in some of his hypotheses: "...encore que l'information de Gröhler, qui travaillait à Breslau, fût souvent fragmentaire et sa science parfois incertaine." Of those actively engaged during the early part of this century in the domain of French toponymy certainly Auguste
Longnon, Hermann Gröhler and Auguste Vincent may be counted amongst the foremost. The last member of this triumvirate, Auguste Vincent, an eminent Belgian scholar, produced a systematically researched, well documented volume called *Toponymie de la France*, published in 1937. But this was definitely not the first attempt at toponymic research for Vincent as he had previously published *Les noms de lieux de la Belgique* in 1927. Like his colleague Longnon, Vincent lectured for some years on toponomy at an institute of higher learning, in this case, the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique in Brussels. In fact he regarded the production of the monumental *Toponymie* rather as a sort of extension of those lectures.

*Toponymie de la France*, as the name implies, relates only to those toponyms found within the borders of present-day France. In essence it is a methodical discussion of the etymologies of a great number of actual French place-names. The goal which Vincent set himself for this treatise is succinctly expressed in the introduction: "Il a pour but de décrire les différents types de formation employés depuis l'antiquité, en donnant pour chacun d'eux le plus grand nombre possible de bons exemples." This aim is realised by the thoroughness and attention to detail shown in the examination of the place-names. As to the criterion followed in the selection of the material Vincent has included only those toponyms for which he could find "des formes suffisamment anciennes." This is the most important requirement in toponymic research, for without early forms there is great difficulty in establishing the proper etymology or sense of a place-name. Any conclusions based solely on the modern form of
any given name are apt to be erroneous. Finally, in a group of names possessing a common constituent only those whose other elements can be determined have been examined.

La Toponymie comprises two main sections. The first consists of the chapters concerning the formation, transformation and substitution of place-names whilst the second delves into a more specific study of the history of toponyms, that is, the types of toponyms created during different periods in French history. The latter covers some 289 pages as opposed to the 46 of the former. The first chapters collected under the title of "Phénomènes Généraux" attempt to explain the reasons for the creation of the various types of place-names, the subsequent alterations, and the modern formations. In the final part of this section the question of the replacement of one place-name by another is discussed.

But it is the second more particular section which comes within the focus of this dissertation. It has been divided into three large sub-heads, namely: "L'Antiquité", "Le Haut Moyen Age", and "Le Moyen Age dans son ensemble". These sub-heads are the umbrella-terms under which the chapters studying toponyms of a particular linguistic or ethnic origin are assembled. The heading "L'Antiquité" includes place-names of Ligurian, Iberian, Phoenician, Greek, Gallic and Latin derivation. In "Haut Moyen Age" one encounters the names originating from Germanic, Scandinavian, Basque, Breton and Roman (medieval formations) sources. Lastly, "Le Moyen Age dans son ensemble" encompasses all the Romance place-names from the High Middle Ages to the modern period. Furthermore this largest of the three sub-heads arranges the toponyms into semantic groupings according to certain
similar ideas expressed, for example, those names designating some characteristic or type of body of water fall into the grouping under "Les Eaux". There are many such logically established classifications, from the place-names of a non-topographical nature to those touching upon some aspect of religion.

Unlike his predecessors, Auguste Vincent chose to place his consideration of the Germanic toponyms under the historical title of the "Haut Moyen Age". This is a fitting chronological classification because the time of the "Völkerwanderung", circa 375-568 A.D., during which the Germanic tribes invaded and settled Gallia, belongs properly to this epoch. Vincent prefaces the actual study of the individual toponyms by a few pages concerning the ethnic composition of the tribes, separating them into the traditional divisions of West Germanic (Franks, Alamans, Saxons), North Germanic (Danes, Norwegians, Swedes) and East Germanic (Burgundians, Goths), discussing their wanderings and finally focusing upon the individual peoples to examine the history of their origins and their conquest of Gallia Romana. With regard to the Germanic mode of place-name giving Vincent points out two principal types of place-names occurring in France. The first is the toponym consisting of a personal name joined with the collective ending -ing. The second type is composed of a personal name and a common noun. With this latter type one must distinguish between those where the anthroponym takes a genitive ending and those where it combines with -ing.43

The study of the Germanic toponyms, excluding those of North Germanic or Scandinavian origin, is organised into three areas: "noms d'habitants", "noms composés d'un appellatif et d'un nom de
examines basically the place-names whose constituent elements are: a personal name with either the Germanic final element -ing or its plural form in -ingen. Following the clear explanations for these formations advanced by Vincent is a large number of place-names chosen to illustrate these "types". All the names are listed in alphabetical order according to the modern form accompanied by a number of dated early forms and often an indication of the source document or chronicle. In addition, the names of the 'commune' and 'département' are given. It is clear that Vincent provides many more examples than do either Longnon or Gröhler. However he discusses the place-name type and then merely gives the list of examples and the supporting material rather than entering into a discussion of the individual names.

Now the toponyms which combine both a topographical designation and a personal name are arranged rather differently in so far as they come under the title of the particular Germanic common noun contained in them all. Vincent concisely expounds the etymology and meanings of these common nouns and furnishes a list of illustrative French place-names. The nouns ranging from -alah, "temple", to -vort/-voort, "ford", are considered alphabetically. In all some twenty-five common nouns figure in this study. There follows a section on common nouns which do not combine with personal names beginning with Middle High German acker, "field", and terminating with wisa, "meadow": there are fifty-odd such appellatives. Under the title of the common nouns Vincent groups both simple and compound place-names containing them. By comparison with the previous category of common nouns the number of
toponymic examples cited for each is relatively scant.

Like other noted toponymists,44 Vincent examines the place-names of North Germanic origin separately rather than to lump all the material together under the innocuous term "Germanic". After all, regardless of scruples on the basis of linguistic differences, one must acknowledge that the advent of the Scandinavians or Northmen in Francia, for the Franks had established dominion over the whole country by then, is estimated to date from the Xth century.45 This is at least three hundred years later than the first colonisation of Gallia Romana by the other Germanic peoples if one reckons this from the end of the "Völkerwanderung" or circa 568 A.D.

Given the similarity of many of the Germanic tongues at the time, toponymists have found it difficult, often impossible, to attribute many place-names to a specific Germanic idiom. This problem presents itself all too clearly in the case of the so-called Scandinavian toponyms of Normandy. Vincent, very much aware of the pitfalls in this area, notes a dual complication: "Une double difficulté toutefois se présente pour les noms germaniques de la région normande. D'un côté, plusieurs termes sont communs aux langues scandinaves et à l'anglo-saxon. Les saxons ayant dirigé leurs expéditions, comme les Normands, aussi bien en France qu'en Angleterre, il n'est pas toujours possible de dire si un nom est plutôt danois que saxon. D'autre part, les Normands établis au Xe siècle ont cessé très vite de parler leur langue, n'étant qu'une infime minorité parmi les populations romanes."46 Gröhler, Dauzat and Longnon are all in agreement with this affirmation as is clearly demonstrated by treatments
of these Scandinavian place-names. Longnon alludes to a further problem in that many Northmen appear to have adopted Frankish names relatively early. So it may be a very hazardous affair proving the Scandinavian descent of names of various Norman inhabited places.

In approaching the question of the Scandinavian place-names, Vincent has assembled fifteen common nouns of Norse origin which form the principal elements in some of the toponyms of Normandy. Not all are purely Norce since -heima, -holmr, and -mara are common to old Saxon which renders absolute classification difficult, if not impossible. In his consideration of the Norman place-names Albert Dauzat expresses the following view on the complexity of the linguistic situation in that province: "En Normandie, l'apport saxon, sous-jacent au norrois (langue des Northmans), est assez difficile à discerner, la plupart des racines étant communes aux deux langues."

As to the analysis, Vincent explains the significations, delves into their etymologies, sometimes discusses the distribution of the toponyms of a certain type, and provides examples with relevant supportive data, viz: early forms, dates of attestation and sources. But this overview of the toponyms of North Germanic origin does not embrace the names of the -ville type, in other words, those in which a Scandinavian personal name is joined with -ville. This is a category upon which Longnon placed much importance for he viewed it as useful in determining the approximate area of Norse colonisation: "La proportion dans laquelle les présente la nomenclature topographique des départements qu'a formés la Normandie procure d'utilles indications sur
l'étendue de la colonisation scandinave." Contrary to the examples of Longnon and Gröhler, Vincent does not presume to examine the -ville names of Normandy as Scandinavian, rather he considers them together with the rest of the French place-names of this type in the chapter on "Noms Romans". It is highly likely that this decision was motivated by the uncertainty attached to the origins of these Norman toponyms. What applies to the common nouns applies equally to the personal names. The kinship between the Saxon and Norse idioms combined with the historical tendency of the Northmen to adopt the names and, eventually, the tongue of their Frankish neighbours, particularly after their christianisation, all serve to obfuscate the issue of derivation within this region.

Besides the section dedicated exclusively to the Germanic place-names of France, one encounters a great many more of a somewhat later formation, names dating largely from the High Middle Ages, in the final chapter "Noms Romans". In spite of the similarity of the terms one must not confuse this chapter with the earlier "Noms Romains" on the Latin names attested during the Roman period prior to the Germanic inroads. For the most part, Vincent deals with two prototypes: those composite names uniting either 1) personal name and common noun or 2) personal name and a Gallo-Roman or Latin suffix. The personal names are predominantly Germanic. It is explained that this is chiefly due to the popularity which the Germanic names enjoyed amongst the Gallo-Romans: "Les noms de personnes que l'on rencontre ici sont en majeure partie germaniques; imposés de bonne heure par la mode, ils sont portés par les Gallo-Romains comme par les Germains."
Vincent first approaches the second type grouping the place-names under the headings of the nine suffixes which constitute the examination. The first three ending -acus, -iacas, -in-iacus are the most prolific with regard to the abundance of place-names composed of them whilst the remaining six, -arus, -aster, -aticus, -avus, -ara, -anus, -olium, are rather more infrequently encountered in French toponymy. Moreover pertinent information on the geographical distribution of these toponyms is often provided. For example Vincent states that evidence confirms that -iacum names are densest near the linguistic border between Germanophones and francophones: "Ces noms sont plus denses à mesure qu'on approche de la frontière linguistique".52

Examples of the place-names formed from Germanic anthroponyms and Latin or Gallo-Roman common nouns are exceedingly numerous. Again the examples are arranged according to the alphabetical listing of the Latin or Gallo-Roman common noun. The two appellatives to which Vincent justifiably gives most attention are the Latin substantives -cortis and -villa both of which are very thoroughly documented. In his treatment of "villa" Vincent includes a footnote on the subject of the linguistic intermingling in Normandy. "En Normandie, c'est parfois un nom anglo-saxon; dans quelques cas, un nom scandinave..."53 Under -cortis and -villa one discovers a veritable motherlode of specimens serving to demonstrate the diversity and richness of these hybrid Germano-Roman formations.54
ranks highly even in comparison with those of Longnon and Gröhler. The contribution of this work to the study of French toponymy is characterised by Charles Rostaing in the preface to the *Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France*: "Il appartenait à Auguste Vincent de nous donner le premier livre systématique sur la toponymie française: ...en effet, le nombre de toponyms étudiés dans cet ouvrage [that of Vincent] est considérable, et chacun d'eux est accompagné d'une liste de formes anciennes bien datées et répertoriées, ce qui fait de ce livre un outil de travail incomparable auquel notre propre ouvrage doit beaucoup." 55

In 1947, some ten years after the appearance of his *Toponymie*, Auguste Vincent produced another general work on toponymy, a sort of handbook for laymen entitled, *Que signifient nos noms de lieux?*, offering a general but very condensed view of the toponymy of Belgium. With regard to the place-names of Germanic origin of Belgium, Vincent has chosen to spread their examination over the length of the text. The first classification is that of "Les noms les plus anciens" which examines individually the following four origins of the earliest Belgian toponyms: Gallic, Gallo-Roman, Roman (medieval) and Germanic. Vincent's study of the Germanic toponyms is a brief one consisting principally of an analysis and exemplification of the ancient suffix -ing and of such appellatives as -heim, -zele, -donk, -beek, etc. One encounters further consideration of Germanic place-names in the second major section on the medieval formations, i.e.: the toponyms relevant to topography. The final section of general observations and conclusions broaches the topic of the bilingual toponyms along the linguistic frontier which bisects Belgium.
Generally, Vincent gives the modern name of a particular toponym, the location in terms of province and, wherever possible, attested early forms. The etymological and semantic interpretations are brief in accordance with the nature of this general but, nevertheless, valuable work. It furnishes an overview of the pervasive Germanic contribution to Belgian toponymy.

Albert Dauzat also figures prominently among French toponymists. He succeeded Auguste Longnon in 1922 at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris and founded the specialist periodical Revue internationale d'onomastique. In the realm of toponomy, Dauzat produced two important books: the comprehensive study Les noms de lieux: origine et évolution, Paris: Delagrave 1926 and the particular examination of pre-Indoeuropean and Gallo-roman based toponyms entitled La Toponymie française, Paris: Payot 1960. However, since only the former work concerns itself with Germanic toponyms it alone will be reviewed here.

It was Dauzat's avowed intention in compiling Les noms de lieux to produce a comprehensible synopsis of French toponymy combining explanations of the methods of place-name formation, historical development and mutation, and an examination of the categories of toponyms. As much as he admired his predecessor; Dauzat desired to distance himself from what he perceived to be the rather narrow particularisation characteristic of Longnon's book. Rather he preferred to produce a treatise on toponomy more accessible to the public at large and one which would afford a good overview of the whole question. The appointed purpose of his book is "...synthétiser et vulgariser une science encore peu connue". Also, dissimilar to Longnon or others studied thus
far, Dauzat extends the scope of his examination to encompass, even if at times somewhat superficially, such almost unexplored regions of toponymy as: hydronymy, oronymy, choronymy, and the vast domain of micro-toponymy or field-names. 59

To introduce his research, Dauzat, like Vincent, devotes the entire first part which bears the designation "Phénomènes généraux" to the fundamental principles of toponymic formation, the various motives for substitutions and phonetic and semantic mutations. Indeed the entire work consists of but two universal sections which are further broken down into chapters on particular aspects of toponymy. The second and largest section "Catégories et couches historiques" addresses itself to the different categories of place-names and the historical and linguistic factors contingent upon the formations wrought by successive epochs. It is this latter division of the text where the author delves into the subject of Germanic toponyms of France and all its ramifications. The section embraces two chapters: firstly, "Les noms de localités", concerning the names of inhabited places and secondly, "Noms de lieux divers", treating of names applied to territories, bodies of water, relief and fields. Furthermore, the first chapter is divided into some seven sub-heads from a study of pre-Celtic creations to a consideration of the formations in the non-Romance regions of Gallia. Dauzat does not respect political frontiers but seeks to encompass within his study the whole of modern France and Germanised Gaul (Flanders, Rhineland, Alsace and Switzerland).

Interestingly, Dauzat's nineteen page treatment of the Germanic toponyms bears the title "Formations de l'époque Franque"
which appears to demonstrate the high degree of significance attached by the author to this tribe's settlement of Gallia. He is the only one of the authors discussed till now who has chosen this term to designate the Germanic contingent of toponyms. Gröhler and Vincent prefer the more neutral "Germanic" and even Longnon, though he divides up the analysis after racial or tribal origins, does not employ the epithet "Frankish" as a global term for them all.60

At the outset of this study Dauzat advances some very valid historical observations on the subject of the invasions of the Barbarians and their consequences for the country and, particularly, toponymy. One very significant remark concerns the stagnation of the towns of Gallia following the Barbarian occupation, a period which saw, conversely, a blossoming and expansion in the countryside: "...la décadence des villes a pour contre-partie le développement des centres ruraux; la dynastie mérovingienne, en particulier, a été une grande monarchie agricole."61 In truth, as Dauzat so correctly observes, the tendency of the Frankish period was to be towards the clearing and settlement of the land and away from the Roman cities and towns. Naturally this was to manifest itself in the nomenclature of the "lieux-habités".62 There follows a consideration of the types of place-names which resulted from the arrogation of the rural possessions by the victorious Franks, and the cultivation of newly cleared lands. Dauzat affirms that the process of political and linguistic change fomented a radical alteration of the system of name-giving for "domains" or rural estates from the Gallo-roman custom of applying the name of the owner with a
specific inflection to the Germanic tradition of compound names constituted by an anthroponym attached to some appellative:

"Un changement linguistique considérable s'affirme dans les noms des nouveaux domaines: ceux-ci offrent toujours le nom du possesseur, mais les dérivés font place aux composés, sous une influence évidemment germanique (qui rappelle les formations originales gauloises et spécialement en-ialos)" (Dauzat, Noms de lieux, p. 36).

In these formations, Dauzat points out, the personal name, customarily representing the owner of the property, serves to modify the common noun wedded to it. He further asserts that these appellatives indicating a rural property ("domaine rural") are very restricted in number. Several substantives of Latin origin possessing this signification, that is: fundus, praedium, ager, villa, and cortis are discussed. However, the greatest weight is set upon -villa and -cortis because they showed themselves to be extremely fertile in the formation of compound names, principally containing Germanic anthroponyms. It is stated that the toponyms with -cour or -villa as their second element are concentrated in the north and north eastern portions of France ie: those formerly colonised by Germanic tribes. The evidence of their geographical distribution logically suggests that their creation reflects Germanic influence.

Then Dauzat enters a discussion of the syntax of the compound toponyms. In the majority of cases it is the anthroponym, the complement, which occupies the first position whilst the subject comes after. Regarding the significance of these morphological changes Dauzat draws upon the observations and conclusions of other
philologists. He subscribes in large measure to D'Arbois de Jubainville's hypothesis that the compound names, where the anthroponym is the first element, are the most ancient. His one reservation for not subscribing wholly to this view stems from Longnon's idea that these compounds are difficult to judge on the basis of syntax alone because the different systems of formation became intermixed through the ages. The system of the Gauls consisted of beginning a compound name by the complement whereas, contrariwise, that of the Romans generally placed the principal element or subject foremost. The Germans reintroduced the order complement - subject similar to the tradition of the Gauls. Dauzat remarks that even during the feudal period Germanic syntax persisted in the Norman -villa names much later than elsewhere. No doubt this is due to the relatively late arrival of the Northmen. Obviously this tangled knot of what Dauzat terms "couches contradictoires" renders the task of etymological research exceedingly problematic. In view of these and other contrary factors the researcher has difficulty affixing a fairly accurate date to these place-names: "Dans le détail, et faute de précisions historiques qui font presque toujours défaut, il est souvent impossible de faire une chronologie même approximative." Having looked at the common nouns, Dauzat now focusses upon the anthroponyms. He echoes Longnon's opinion when he maintains that the personal names sprung from Germanic sources preponderate in the compound formations, i.e.: -villa, -cortis, whilst the Romance names "ne forment qu'une infime minorité". To support his point he furnishes a short list of Germanic
personal names which are contained in the toponyms following, for example: he cites the Germanic masculine anthroponym, Abbo with a genitive inflection - Abbone - which figures in the place-names, Aboncourt, Abancourt and Courtabon. Unfortunately, Dauzat provides no indication of location, early forms or dates. Dauzat continues with a look at the anthroponyms of Norse origin which occur in the place-names of Normandy. These he stresses, are "...presque toujours 'Northman." However, he admits that the Scandinavian anthroponyms of the region had been affected to some extent by the influence of Frankish neighbours. Astonishingly he alludes not at all to the hazards of precisely ascertaining the origins of the anthroponyms in Norman place-names. This survey ends with the examination of the vulgar Latin appellatives -monte, -valle, and -ponte which also often unite with anthroponyms to form new place-names.

The final portion of this section on Germanic toponyms contains a succinct evaluation of the effects of the various Germanic folk-groups upon the toponymy of Gallia-Romana. Dauzat examines the types of Germanic place-names other than those which possess a personal name as one of their constituent elements. He investigates the toponymic legacies of the individual tribes which permanently took up residence in Gallia: Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, Saxons and Northmen. To the Visigoths who settled the south and south-west and the Burgundians who settled the Saône and Rhône valleys exceedingly few place-names can be attributed with any degree of certainty. Dauzat shows that certain place-names which terminate in the Germanic collective particle -ing derive from the Visigothic and Burgundian sources.
In the lands of the Visigoths the "-ing" ending may take any of these forms: -ens, -enx, -eng dependent upon the location.

However, in the case of the Burgundian place-names, the research is hindered greatly by the incidence of two non-Germanic endings within the limits of supposed Burgundian territory, namely, the Gallo-Ligurian -incos and the Latin -anus or in the related form, -anica. 75

Similarly the prolific -ing ending occurs in Frankish territory as well but, relative to the total of Frankish place-names, only to a rather minimal extent. 76 This interesting phenomenon appears to suggest, he maintains, that the Franks were assimilated earlier than their racial cousins, the Burgundians and Visigoths. This viewpoint seems to be supported by Longnon in a statement from his historical exposé on the Franks: "En Neustrie, la population gallo-romaine était assez dense, tandis que la population franque était éparse: celle-ci adopta bientôt la langue latine, et les noms de lieu purement germaniques qu'on peut rencontrer dans cette région sont en minorité." 77 Dauzat remarks that the greatest number of place-names of the -ing type occur in the province of Lorraine, an area of intensive Frankish colonisation. Next there is a consideration of a short series of Frankish common nouns, -fara, -ham, -lar, and -bak which figure either in simple or complex toponyms. 78 But these are only treated very super­ficially. Few toponyms illustrating these composite formations are presented.

Finally Dauzat reviews those elements for which French toponymy is indebted to the Saxons and Northmen. With regard to the extent of Saxon toponymic influence he finds himself in
disagreement with Longnon's overestimation of its importance: "L'importance des éléments saxons a été un peu exagérée par Longnon." Indeed Longnon devotes three chapters or twenty pages entirely to the various aspects of the Saxon element in French place-names. It is interesting that the results of their respective research into the Saxon heritage of the place-names of Normandy, the region of concentrated Saxon settlement, serve to underscore this divergence. For whereas Longnon advances nine common nouns which figure in Norman toponyms as Saxon in origin: -tun, -ham, -cot, -ho, -ig, -naes, -fleod, -gate, -dike. Dauzat admits a mere four: -ey(-ig), -hou(-ho), -ham and -tun. On the other hand Dauzat gives Longnon credit for the discovery of a significant Saxon settlement in the region of modern Boulogne. This discovery was effected not through the examination of documents or inscriptions but rather through toponymic research: "Une trentaine de noms de lieux dont le second élément représente tun, "village," et dont on ne trouve nulle part ailleurs l'équivalent en France, sinon, on l'a vu à Bayeux, sont massés entre Boulogne, Fauquembergues et Calais..." On the strength of this find alone Longnon felt justified in concluding that a substantial Saxon settlement existed there: "L'existence d'une colonie saxonne en Boulenois est attesté, sinon par les monuments écrits, du moins par la toponomastique de la région." In a summary of the contribution of the Northmen to the toponymy of France Dauzat, surprisingly, judges it to be the most considerable of all the Germanic peoples: "De tous les apports germaniques en toponymie, noms de personne à part, le contingent le plus important a été fourni par les Northmans..."
There are several reasons why this statement seems imprudent if not erroneous. Firstly, as has already been noted, it is often difficult to distinguish accurately between the various Germanic idioms on account of their similarity. Secondly, the Northmen were restricted to the narrow confines of Northwest Gallia, the Franks politically and culturally dominated the bulk of the country. This suggests strongly that the Frankish contribution should be the greater. Longnon admits this: "La Gaule pouvait, dès lors, s'appeler France, puisque la domination franque s'étendait sur la presque totalité de notre pays actuel: elle en débordait d'ailleurs considérablement les limites au nord et à l'est." Dauzat reserves anthroponyms from his evaluation but, even on the basis of common nouns alone, the proportion of the Scandinavian or North Germanic elements to the Frankish or West Germanic appears small. This point is demonstrated by contrasting the numbers of common nouns of each group treated in the works of Longnon, Vincent and Gröhler. In Vincent's *Toponymie de la France*, of the approximately eighty-eight Germanic common nouns analysed, only fifteen are rather loosely classified as Scandinavian. Longnon, whom Dauzat himself accused of exaggerating the Scandinavian element, shows a disproportionately high percentage of North Germanic words. Of a total of circa fifty-five names, seventeen are termed "Scandinavian" although a few are of rather doubtful origin. Finally, Hermann Gröhler, who has separated all the Germanic appellatives into West- and North Germanic, examines a total of sixty-six names of which nine supposedly stem from the Norse idiom. Having considered these factors, the opinion advanced by Dauzat appears ill-founded.
Dauzat presents nine common nouns expressive of various aspects of the land or of habitation, which derive from Old Norse: -bekk, -budh, -boeuf, -dal, -flodh, -hind, -mar, -thorp, -thveit, and -toft. An explanation of the meanings, of phonetic alterations and a few illustrative toponyms are given. In all the compound place-names quoted these common nouns form the final element. Therefore it is not surprising that Dauzat should contend that this holds true for the majority of Norse toponyms. Charles Rostaing supports this view: "L'apport scandinave est constitué essentiellement par des noms à valeur topographique formant le second élément d'un mot composé..." Included in this study is a small insert map of the departements of Normandy on which the limits of the area of maximum concentration where most Scandinavian toponyms occur have been indicated. This clarifies the question of geographical distribution.

Les noms de lieu studies the Germanic toponyms in a couple of other short sections. One section on "Régions non-romanes" contains essentially a survey of the principal characteristics of the toponymy of those regions of ancient Gaul which were Germanised: Flanders, Rhineland, Alsace and Alemannish Switzerland. It is very much concerned with the formation of the actual linguistic frontier between the Romance and the Germanic groups and other historical details. However, there is an enumeration of some of the most characteristic Germanic common nouns employed in toponymic formation together with a few examples.
This broad examination is rather too general and thus provides little more information than is contained in the main section on place-names of Germanic derivation previously discussed. In the sections entitled "Noms d'habitants" and "Noms de territoires" Dauzat discusses the etymology and composition of some names containing Germanic elements, i.e.: the names of the different folk-groups, Burgundians, Franks and Normans stem from the original Teutonic idioms and contributed to the creation of the territorial appellations: Bourgogne, France, Normandie. In "Noms de cours d'eau" the Germanic element is examined and, though Dauzat judges its overall influence upon the hydronyms of Gallia to have been minimal, he maintains that: "Les Germains ont apporté peu de noms dans les régions germanisées de la Gaule." Nevertheless it is shown by means of appropriate examples that the Germanic common nouns -aha, -bach, -wasser, -bec(bach) figure in some hydronyms. Also Dauzat echoes Longnon's theory with regard to the Germanic influence manifested in the inflection -ain with its variants -ein, -in, found in numerous river names.

It is particularly fitting that the next general work investigated should be Les noms de lieux of Charles Rostaing because he and Albert Dauzat were colleagues and friends as well as being destined to co-operate on the compilation of Le Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France. This work resembles that of Dauzat in many respects, most particularly in its structure and the treatment of the material. To all appearances, Rostaing's book is a rather more condensed or concise version of its counterpart since the former contains some 126 to the latter's
256 pages (excluding indices). Certainly, Rostaing enjoyed the benefit of consulting his colleague's work since there was a twenty odd year interval between the appearance of the two books: Dauzat's was first published in 1926 whilst Rostaing's appeared in 1945.

The structure of this Les noms de lieux seems a sort of copy of that of its predecessor and namesake authored by Dauzat. Both possess two major divisions: the first part consists of a general outline of the history, principles, and methods of French toponymy whilst the larger second part is devoted to the analysis of the salient contributions of various ethnic origins to toponymy. To a great extent the correspondence holds true also for the arrangement of the second part. However, the one major point of divergence occurs in the manner in which this second part has been structured, for, whereas Rostaing divides it up according to French toponymy and the toponymy of the non-francophone French regions, Dauzat uses the categories of place-names as his criteria thus creating one large section on the subject of "lieux habité"s" and the other one treats the remaining categories: names of territories, inhabitants, hydronyms, field-names etc. Despite this, one is impressed by the resemblances. Both Rostaing's section "La toponymie française" and the corresponding "Les noms de localités" of Dauzat sketch in broad terms the various linguistic and historical strata which together comprise modern French toponymy. Beginning with a survey of the pre-indo-European (Ligurian, Iberian) formations, they continue through formations of Gallic, Gallo-roman, Roman, Germanic origins to those characteristic of historical periods, from feudal to modern. It
is noteworthy that Dauzat and Rostaing both created a separate section covering the toponymies of the non-Francophone border regions of Gallia, i.e.: Flanders, Alsace, Rhineland, Switzerland, Basque country, Brittany. Unlike Dauzat, however, Rostaing even includes a brief exposition of the toponymy of Corsica. Certainly the many similarities of structure demonstrate the close resemblance which these works bear to one another.

To evaluate the linguistic legacy to toponymy made by the diverse ethnic groups which formerly inhabited France, is a primary aim. That Rostaing realised the veracity of this statement is clearly expressed in the introduction to his book:
"Déterminer avec précision à quelle couche de population appartient les toponymes, et par conséquent quel est l'apport respectif de chacun des peuples qui ont occupé notre pays, tel est le but de la toponymie."89 This aim finds its implementation in the author's concentrated but methodical discussions of the toponymic formations derived from specific racial or linguistic sources. In order to illustrate this, one need only explore any of the sections devoted to these particular formations. As this study is primarily concerned with the Germanic toponyms, it is appropriate to discuss the research into this field presented in the chapter "L'Apport Germanique".

Like all his colleagues before him, Rostaing prefaces the chapter with historical information on the origins and wanderings of the different Germanic peoples. He details their settlement of Gallia and attributes to it a limited transformation of the primitive language and toponymy: "Cet apport germanique a modifié la structure linguistique et surtout le vocabulaire du
Some other very general points on the Germanic toponymic contribution are advanced as well. For example, Rostaing refers to the custom of creating names for the new rural domains by means of a Germanic personal name which arose from the foundation or appropriation of lands by the victors. Despite the power and influence enjoyed by the Germans, it is pointed out that such Latin appellatives as; -mons, -vallis, -pons describing a locality were in no wise uprooted by their Germanic equivalents.

Another innovation which gradually gained currency was the substitution of Germanic syntax, modifier - principal element, for its Latin counterpart, principal element - modifier. He stresses the difficulty of distinguishing the diverse Germanic origins in the face of the relative homogeneity of the Teutonic dialects and of the extent of the Frankish domination of Gallia.

Finally Rostaing presents the criteria for the thematic division of the chapter, namely: the consideration of the place-names formed with the Germanic anthroponyms or appellatives, and the hybrid Germano-roman creations.

It can scarcely be denied that the position occupied by the Germanic personal names vis-à-vis the Germanic element in the toponymy of France is a central one. Rostaing confirms this view in a remark at the conclusion of the present chapter: "Tel est l'apport germanique dans la toponymie française. On notera en premier lieu qu'il est formé essentiellement par des noms de personne, ceux que les conquérants imposèrent aux domaines qu'ils créèrent." Rostaing presents basically two types of anthroponymic formations, firstly, anthroponym plus the Gallo-
roman ending -iaacus and secondly, anthroponym plus the Germanic collective suffix -ing. The combinations with -iaacus are said to reflect the early period of Germanic occupation when the invaders had but little influence upon their more numerous Gallo-roman subjects. Generally the place-names in -iaacus and its composite variant -in, iacus occur most frequently in the North and Eastern portions of the country. To illustrate this formation there follow a few such French place-names. The département and the anthroponym from which the place-name derives are indicated. Then Rostaing examines the creations with the purely Germanic suffix -ing and its manifold alternative forms. Rostaing concurs completely with the other toponymists that -ing denotes less filiation than the following of a higher personage. These creations too stem from the first years of occupation but, unlike their -iaacus opposites, do not enjoy the same wide geographical distribution. One encounters them above all in Flanders, Lorraine, Alsace and the Franche Comté. On the subject of the variants, Rostaing maintains that they derive from two prototypes: either a Frankish feminine suffix -ingas which gives the forms -ange, -enge, -ingue, or, from the Burgundian masculine suffix -ingos with the modern forms -ans, -ens. The few -ing place-names found south of the Loire require special attention because of the confusion which may arise with the Ligurian suffix -incos, also found in the area. It is presumed that these names derive from the Visigoths who settled south and south western France for the variants are -ens, -eins, very similar to those of the Burgundians to whom they are linguistically akin: "... ils (the place-names cited) témoignent du séjour prolongé des
An interesting phenomenon manifests itself in the Franche-Comté where both the Frankish -ange names and the Burgundian -ans/-ens types mingle. Of course this inspired various hypotheses as to the cause. Rostaing discusses briefly the conflicting opinions of Th. Perrenot and E. Gamillscheg; the former propounds the theory that the Frankish names are oldest whilst the latter upheld the contrary view. For his part, Rostaing considers the view that the Burgundian names are the most ancient: "Th. Perrenot a soutenu que les établissements francs comme Berthelange (Doubs) avaient précédé ceux des Burgondes, alors que Gamillscheg a pris la position contraire et sa théorie, d'après laquelle les noms burgondes constituent la couche la plus ancienne recouverte par les noms francs, paraît admise aujourd'hui, bien qu'il faille éviter les généralisations systématiques." By way of example, Rostaing cites a few toponyms, primarily from Flanders, Lorraine and the Franche Comté. For these the location is given as well as the original form of the personal name involved but no early forms or dates.

The Germanic colonists did not create place-names merely from anthroponyms to which certain suffixes have been appended but also exploited the resources of their respective idioms. There are numerous examples of toponyms composed of appellatives or common nouns borrowed from the local dialects: Burgundian, Frankish, Saxon, Norse etc. The words fara, "family", and tal, "valley", appear to be common to all Germanic tongues because examples occur in Frankish, Burgundian and Visigothic regions. Their currency amongst the Germanic peoples is attested by the
discovery of place-names containing them in the territories of different tribes. Next Rostaing considers the supposedly Frankish nouns: bah, "stream", and ham, "village", which also often figure in toponymic formations. There is uncertainty as to the origins and precise meanings of -ham which is common in place-names of Frankish and Saxon descent. In his reconstruction of the semantic evolution of this wide-spread West Germanic word, Rostaing echoes the interpretation provided by Vincent: the sense altered from "bend in a river" to "meadow" or "piece of land" until finally it came to signify a "village". Rostaing cites a series of illustrative French toponyms originating principally from the north-western départements. Little interpretation, no early forms but, at least, the geographical locations are stated. Bah which also appears as bais or becque, dependent upon locality, is also suitably exemplified. The next common noun discussed is the Saxon -thûn, "farm", which occurs under the alternative form -ton on both sides of the Channel. Rostaing, like Dauzat, relies for his examples upon the source provided by Longnon's research into the Saxon colony of Boulogne. He also demonstrates the correspondence between the place-names of this type found in France with those in England: i.e.: "Alincthun (PC), nom de personne anglaise Allington", or "Audincthun (PC), nom de personne Odo: angl. Oddington." However, Rostaing underscores the problem separating the Saxon place-names from the Scandinavian ones on account of the likeness of the two idioms: "...En Normandie, l'élément saxon est difficile à discerner, la plupart des racines étant communes au saxon et au norois."
This survey of the formations with Germanic appellatives concludes with a short consideration of the Scandinavian common nouns. Contrary to the perhaps exaggerated importance which Longnon attached to the toponyms formed from Scandinavian personal names allied with -ville, Rostaing asserts that it is rather the Scandinavian appellatives which represent the chief part of the Norse contribution to French toponymy: "L'apport scandinave est constitué essentiellement par les noms à valeur topographique formant le second élément d'un mot composé et appartenant au vieux norrois ou au danois." His examination embraces almost precisely the same appellatives as that of Dauzat, i.e.: bekkr, budh, flet/flodh, haugr, lundr, mare, thorp, thveit and topt. The one difference consists in Dauzat's substitution of dal for haugr. Nevertheless some slight divergences may be registered in their respective explanations of the meanings of these words; for, whereas Rostaing explains thorp as "un groupe d'habitations", Dauzat says "village, parfois isolé" or with topt, the former calls it "pièce de terre, terrain avec habitation.", the latter states "masure, village ou ruines."

The third and final section of this chapter concerns the myriad heterogeneous formations which arise from the joining of Romance or Gallo-Roman elements with Germanic elements. This corresponds to the chapter in Longnon's work entitled "Noms romano-francs".

By far the largest contingent of the Germanic toponyms of France are of this type. Rostaing explains the creation of these hybrids as arising from the settlement of a Germanic minority amongst a Roman majority. The Germans were able to impose their
political rule but not their language upon the natives. In consequence of this political domination and also of a later vogue among the natives for the conqueror's names, a very large number of place-names were invented: "Or nous savons que dès l'époque carolingienne, les noms de personne, dans la France du Nord, étaient, par esprit d'imitation, par snobisme, pourrait-on dire, devenus germaniques..."\textsuperscript{107} Certainly such phenomena are common in the history of conquests and occupations. Rostaing then examines the -ville and -court place-names which count among the most prevalent formations. They customarily combine with a Germanic anthroponym and exhibit a very German type of syntax, here Rostaing refers to Ferdinand Lot: "...les noms en -ville et -court étaient des noms romans, formés par des gens parlant une langue romane."\textsuperscript{108} So the Roman-speaking natives were greatly influenced by the Germanic mode of word-formation and word-order, in this instance at least.\textsuperscript{109}

But Rostaing adds that later, dating from about the 10th century, one tended to find place-names of the type where -curtis, -villa preceded the principal element due to a more or less complete assimilation of the Germans. It is also asserted that the toponyms in -cohors or -curtis, occur in Frankish territory. To give credence to this claim, he borrows figures on the distribution of such names throughout France from a numerical survey conducted by Vincent. This all shows a preponderance of -court toponyms in the northern and northwestern départements.\textsuperscript{110} Thereafter Rostaing turns his attention to the Latin common noun -villa and its Vulgar Latin variant -villare which both often ally themselves with Germanic proper names. Villa which,
according to Vincent, denoted "habitation du maître du domaine"\textsuperscript{111} in the classical period did not gain its modern meaning "domaine rural." until about the 5th century or after the Germanic Invasions.\textsuperscript{112} Longnon is in accordance with this opinion: "Le nom commun -\textit{villa}, par lequel on désignait un domaine rural, et qui est entré, à l'époque franque, dans la composition d'un grand nombre de noms de lieu, ne paraît guère être employé au même usage, à l'époque romaine."\textsuperscript{113} By dint of the concentration of the -\textit{villa} compositions in the Lorraine, Artois-Picardy, Parisian and Beauce regions, all within the limits of Frankish colonisation, Rostaing logically concludes that they serve as a gauge of Frankish settlement: "C'est assez dire qu'ils offrent une aire francique." As Longnon and Dauzat did in their works, Rostaing mentions the significant clusters or "masses compactes"\textsuperscript{114} of -\textit{villa} names in Normandy where, due to the late arrival of the Northmen, \textit{villa} retained its sense of "village" much longer than elsewhere in France. Examples of -\textit{villa} in union both with Latin and, much more commonly, with Germanic anthroponyms are listed alphabetically. An intriguing toponymic phenomenon which applies to -\textit{curtis} and -\textit{villa} alike consists of the grafting of the names of Germanic folk-groups in the genitive plural case, onto these appellatives.

Furthermore, Rostaing demonstrates by examples that the word-order can be reversed in some toponyms. His interpretation explains that the names in which the appellatives precede were probably created towards the beginning of the invasions whilst the names exhibiting the reverse order could not be older than the IXth century: "Probablement il s'agit de colonies constituées
au début des invasions ou même avant; quant aux noms du second type, qui datent au plus tôt du IX siècle, ils doivent désigner des localités occupées uniquement par des Francs ou des Goths, alors que les villages avaient une population mêlée. Therefore these toponyms appear to provide valuable information on the colonisation pattern of France at or before the time of the Germanic conquest. Longnon penetrates more deeply into the historical background of such place-names attributing many to them.\textsuperscript{116} ...des cantonnements de barbares étrangers aux races germanique et slave.\textsuperscript{117}

Another type of composition in which both \textit{curtis} and \textit{villa} occur is that where the Gallo-Roman suffix \textit{-iacus} or \textit{-i acum} constitutes the initial element. Although Rostaing does not attempt to explain this occurrence, Vincent offers one theory with regard to such names with \textit{curtis}: "Dans certains cas, \textit{cortis} est peut-être simplement opposé à un nom en \textit{-iacus} déjà existant."\textsuperscript{118} For his part, Dauzat compares \textit{villa} with \textit{-i acum} in so far as the former is presumed to have replaced the latter in the invention of names for new rural domains following the Germanic conquest: "C'est vers la fin du V siècle, après une période d'anarchie et d'invasion, que les composés en \textit{-villa} remplacèrent les dérivés en \textit{-acum} pour nommer les nouveaux domaines."\textsuperscript{119} Doubtless during the early period of the occupation such hybridisations arose on account of the gradual substitution of these Latin appellatives for the suffix \textit{-iacus}. That the Gallo-roman suffix continued in usage even for a time into the Germanic period is attested by certain place-names.\textsuperscript{120}

The later alternative form of \textit{-villa}, \textit{villare}, has been
explained as designating variously: "...une partie de la villa"\textsuperscript{121}, "...les dépendances d'un domaine rural"\textsuperscript{122} or "...domaine de seconde importance."\textsuperscript{123} In a brief analysis of the origin and use of the word, Rostaing points out that its presence on both sides of the modern language border signifies that \textit{villare} was employed by the Latin-speaking population to designate "un établissement fondé ou occupé par un Germain."\textsuperscript{124} This very hypothesis is offered almost verbatim by Vincent in his own investigation into this Vulgar-Latin appellative. \textit{Villare} appears in the German-speaking border lands under the forms: \textit{-wihr} in Alsace and \textit{-weiler-willer} in the Rhineland. Resulting from the later Germanisation of certain northern areas of France, the Latin genitive of the anthroponyms in these compositions was given rather the Germanic genitive \textit{-s}, especially in Alsace. But outside Alsace, as Rostaing proves by several very relevant examples, the Germanic genitive was not employed, ie: \textit{Aubervilliers} (S: Albert), \textit{Badonviller} (MM: Bado).\textsuperscript{125}

To terminate this evaluation of the "apport germanique", as Rostaing terms it, certain other Latin or vulgar Latin appellatives which join with Germanic personal names are enumerated and exemplified, vis: \textit{mesnil, magny, mansus, pons, sartum, vallis, and mons}. For none of the place-names cited are more details indicated than merely the modern name, location and anthroponym from which it derived. The conclusion to the chapter states that because most of the Romance appellatives studied continued in use after the Germanic period, one can only date the place-names by means of the syntax they manifest and even then one must be wary of hastily formulated decisions. In order to support
the point he quotes, two toponyms which, though both are ancient, exhibit reversed word-order: Romainville and Villemomble. It is generally accepted by scholars that the Germanic syntax persisted into the medieval period when it was superseded by the contrary Romance version.\textsuperscript{126}

Besides the section devoted to the Germanic toponyms of France, Rostaing, like Dauzat, examines the Germanic legacy to be found in the water-names and also in the toponyms of the non-Francophone regions of France. Both he and Dauzat agree that few hydronyms owe their creation to the Germans: (Dauzat) "Les Germains ont apporté peu de noms dans les régions germanisées de Gaule."\textsuperscript{127} (Rostaing): "L'apport germanique se réduit à fort peu de chose."\textsuperscript{128} This is not surprising since, as Jubainville indicated, many hydronyms are of pre-Celtic or Celtic origin.\textsuperscript{129} The examples enumerated by Dauzat and Rostaing are essentially the same: the purely Germanic river names, L'Aa, Haine; compound names in -bekkr in Normandy, and finally those river names terminating in the genuine Germanic suffix -ain, -ane. However, contrary to Longnon, Rostaing does not emphasise the importance of this last group to a determination of the distribution of the Germans on the soil of Gaul.

Of all the general works reviewed to this point, Rostaing's \textit{Les Noms de lieux}, first printed in 1945, is the most recent and therefore had the advantage of exploiting the excellent research compiled by Longnon, Gröhler, Vincent, Dauzat inter alia. Hence it is scarcely surprising that in many respects the opinions and hypotheses expounded by Rostaing do not seem novel, rather they correspond to a high degree to those of the above-mentioned
authors. The conciseness and catholic aim of this work mean that the treatment and evaluation of the toponymic material will necessarily appear somewhat superficial. Hence the absence of early forms, dates of attestation and often of semantic explanations. Rostaing does not attempt to imitate the detailed treatments of Longnon, Gröhler or Vincent because his first priority in the production of the handbook was brevity. It is clear that the book's principal emphasis was placed on the linguistic rather than the historical aspect of toponymy. In this respect Rostaing follows Gröhler, Vincent and Dauzat rather than Longnon. His modest goal of presenting the general development of French toponymy appears to have been realised. In the conclusion he points to the need for further research into the vast field of "lieux-dits" and the toponyms of pre-Indoeuropean origin.

Another look at the question of the Germanic toponyms of North Gallia is found in Dr. Maurits Gysseling's lecture to the Royal Dutch Academy of the Sciences on the place-names of inhabited places: Nederzettingsnamen en Nederzettingsgeschiedenis in de Nederlanden, Noord-Frankrijk, en Noord-West Duitsland. This discussion was intended only as an outline of the question and not a comprehensive dissertation. Gysseling declares his intended purpose in the introduction: "Deze studie is een poging om de diachronie na te gaan van de verschillende types van Nederzettingsnamen in de Nederlanden, Noord-West-Duitsland en Noord Frankrijk." Above all Gysseling studies the tendency to progress from derivational to compositional toponymic formation by means of specific suffixes and appellatives both Germanic and
Romance. He considers this one of the greatest tendencies in the history of toponymic nomenclature in these regions: "Een van de grote tendensen in de geschiedenis van de plaatsnamen in onge gewesten is dat man geleidelijk overgaat na afleidingen naar samenstellingen." The origin, phonetic changes and geographical distribution of the suffixes and appellatives are discussed and illustrated by appropriate toponyms which occur in the area of enquiry. Quite a lot of attention is lent to the Gallo-Roman suffix -iacum which continued in use after the conquest often conjoined with a Germanic anthroponym. The latter part of the lecture chiefly concerns the composition and the examination of the most frequent Germanic common nouns with examples. Since this lecture was intended for oral rendition rather than a written one, the research seems at times to jump from point to point without logical progression. However, some interesting interpretations and toponymic examples are contained therein.

The final general work to be reviewed is the indispensable Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France, the co-operative production of Albert Dauzat and Charles Rostaing. It was published in 1963, eight years after Dauzat's death, thus it is the most recent of the works studied. The uniqueness of this eminently practical work derives from its status as the only dictionary which devotes itself to the toponyms of the whole of France, not merely those from certain départements. Furthermore, dissimilar to the productions of Longnon, Dauzat, Gröhler, Vincent and Rostaing, it does not employ any of the various historical and systematic methods of organising toponymic material but rather, presents them in the absolutely objective manner of an alphabetical
structure. In the preface to the Dictionnaire, co-author Rostaing writes: "Ce qui différencie cet ouvrage de ceux qui l'ont précédé, c'est évidemment qu'il se présente sous la forme d'un dictionnaire et non d'un répertoire historique et systématique." The "champ de travail" or focus is exclusively the names of inhabited places, that is, hamlets, villages, towns and cities: "Il reste à signaler que ce dictionnaire ne présente pas toute la toponymie de la France: il se borne à relever les noms de lieux habités..." However, Rostaing alludes to preparatory work done by his late colleague, Dauzat, on two further areas, "noms de pays et de montagnes" and "noms de rivières" which, he predicts, should serve to supplement the present dictionary. Of the research sources consulted for the compilation of this comprehensive work, one may arrange them into five principal categories: 1) the "dictionnaires topographiques" which cover only about one third of France Rostaing regards these as the greatest source inspite of the manifest deficiencies; 2) the "dictionnaires départementaux", particular studies not included in the official dictionaries; 3) the individual monographs or works on specific regions, i.e.: Beszard on Maine, Perrenot on Burgundy, Gamillscheg on Germanic toponyms in general; 4) general works of Longnon, Gröhler, and Vincent and finally 5) specialised periodicals such as: Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung, Onomastica and Revue internationale d'onomastique.

The structure of this dictionary is its paramount advantage to researchers, for the whole wealth of place-names has been arranged according to the first letter of the principal element. But it is more than a mere index since much valuable information
about the individual names is provided. What is the method employed in the treatment of the place-names? Basically, the method followed resembles that of other toponymists such as Longnon or Gröhler: the modern, official form of the toponym is indicated, then the oldest form together with corresponding date of attestation and lastly, the interpretation of the old form(s) given sufficient details, the semantic and phonetic evolution of the names are outlined. Though this dictionary bears the title *Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France*, it makes no claim to completeness due essentially to two hindrances to analysis: often no old forms are available for a certain toponym or, conversely, if the early forms are available, they defy interpretation. Therefore, a number of place-names have been necessarily omitted.

Ernest Nègre published a concise but useful study entitled *Les Noms de lieux en France* in 1963, shortly after the appearance of Dauzat and Rostaing's *Dictionnaire*. Although more modest, this work again offers a good general view of the Germanic strata in French toponymy. Chapter 5 dedicates a 17-page section to a consideration of these elements. Nègre sub-divides this into a large section on the early creations, "premier apport germanique", and a much smaller one on the later "apport saxon et normand". While several good examples are explained in each of the six major categories established by Nègre, the scope of his work necessarily limits the number of these. In fact, Nègre adds little to the treatment of the subject by his predecessors, especially Charles Rostaing whose *Les Noms de lieux* (1945) seems to have provided him with a model. The two works are very similar in intention, scope, and organization.
FOOTNOTES

I. A Consideration of the State of Research To Date

A. General Studies


6 "Malgré les recherches de Longnon et de ses émules, bien des cantons de ce vaste domaine sont encore peu ou point défrichés: les noms de rivières, depuis un échec sensationnel, ont effrayé les chercheurs, les noms de montagnes et accidents de terrain ne les ont pas attirés; quant aux lieux-dits tout est à faire même la toponymie de lieux habités renferme une grande partie d'inconnue." Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, Paris: Delagrave, 1926, p. VIII.

7 "Dans le contingent qu'ont apporté à la toponomastique française les populations établies en Gaule du Ve au Xe siècle--Saxons, Burgondes, Goths, Francs, Scandinaves, Bretons et Basques, les noms d'origine germanique tiennent une place prépondérante." Longnon, p. 175.
Both Dauzat and Gröhler criticised Longnon's apparent overemphasis of historical explanation. Dauzat: "A noter aussi que Longnon, avant tout historien et géographe fait passer au second plan le point de vue linguistique et fait preuve parfois d'insuffisance dans ses connaissances celtiques et plus généralement phonétiques." (Dauzat. Les Noms de lieux, p. 13) Gröhler alludes to Longnon's primary interest in history rather than in linguistics: "Longnon war in erster Linie Historiker und Archivar, seine Vorträge über die Ortsnamen gleichsam ein Nebenprodukt, das sich seinen historischen Interessen unterordnen mußt." Ursprung, p. V. Vorwort.

"...on peut tenir pour considérable le nombre de noms de lieu dont la forme primitive aurait été un adjectif nominal en -ing attribuable aux Wisigoths." Longnon, p. 206 §860.

Longnon affirms that these names are often due to a hypocoristic formation, p.p. 250-251.

ibid., p. 249 §992.

ibid., p. 253 §1021.

ibid., p. 266 §1152 v. the opinion expressed by D'Arbois de Jubainville.

"Or un certain nombre de divisions de la Gaule franque sont désignées par des dénominations qui lors même qu'ils revêtent extérieurement une forme romane, portent la marque caractéristique d'une origine germanique car, dans l'Europe occidental c'est presque exclusivement en Germanie et en Gaule, dans le bassin du
Much polemicising has been caused by the uncertainty of scholars as to the racial composition of the Northmen. Opinions vary whether they might be principally of Danish or Norwegian extraction. Longnon chooses judiciously not to enter the debate, to avoid it by employing the innocuous designation, Scandinavian: "Si la question est cependant encore douteuse, il est du moins certain que les hommes de race scandinave s'établirent en grand nombre dans les pays cédés à Rollon par les roi Charles le Simple et Raoul." ibid., p. 277 § 1167.

Seine Maritime: 233 of 759; Eure: 121 of 700; Calvados: 111 of 767; Manche: 157 of 664. ibid., p. 293 § 1225.

Hannes Finnsons Islands Landnamabok printed at Copenhagen in 1774, Longnon, p. 296 § 1231.

Hermann Gröhler, Über Ursprung und Bedeutung, Vorwort, p V.

Gröhler complains that the organisation of the material does not afford one a good overview of French toponymy: "...so kann doch die Anordnung des Stoffes den nicht befriedigen, der sich einen Überblick auf das Gesamtgebiet der Ortsnamen französischer Sprache verschaffen will." loc. cit.
Gröhler lists an interesting example of a name substitution in consequence of an armed conflict: "Die Stadt Albert (Somme) hieß in früherer Zeit Ancre, der nach ihr benannte Maréchal d'Ancre wurde von dem Herzog de Luynes vertrieben und der Ort nahm den Namen seines Befreiers an." ibid., p. 443.

But unlike Longnon, he also utilises examples drawn from the Francophone areas of Belgium, Luxemburg and Switzerland, in short, from the whole French-speaking area.


"...Dr. Gröhler a eu toute latitude pour multiplier, en plus de trois cent pages, les exemples accompagnés de références précises et les hypothèses digne de la plus sérieuse attention." Longnon, Avertissement, p. IX.


ibid., Préliminaires, p. 7.

loc. cit.

Vincent remarks that some of the names of this chapter may go back to the Roman period but that no means of corroborating this hypothesis is available. ibid., p. 186 §436.

ibid., p. 136 §314.

Longnon, Gröhler, Dauzat.


ibid., pp. 158-159 §370.

ibid., p. 295 §1230.


Longnon, p. 293 §1225.


ibid., p. 166 §394.

ibid., p. 170 §403.

ibid., p. 180 §429.

Longnon classifies these archetypes as "Noms romano-francs", Chapter XLVIII, p. 223.

56 There are some references to Germanic influence in the toponymy of the Beauce region but the details given are so sparse as to make closer investigation superfluous. Dauzat, Toponymie, p. 50.

57 "Mais l'ouvrage capital d'Auguste Longnon, dont nous parlons dans l'Introduction, est surtout destiné aux spécialistes". Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, Avant-Propos, p. VII.

58 Ibid., p. VII.

59 Ibid., p. VIII.

60 In the preliminary historical discussion to his chapter on Frankish origins, Longnon quotes the use of "Frankish" in the generic sense of "Germanic" by the Latin historian Flavius Vopiscus: "Mille Francos, mille sarmates semel occidimus. - Le nom de Franci désignait collectivement les diverses nations germaniques unies par un lien fédéral." Longnon, p. 208 §864. Vincent quotes a collective usage of "Frankish": "France est un nom collectif désignant les Germains du Rhin inférieur." Vincent, op. cit. p. 134 §313.

61 Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 133.

62 Petri attributes this to the changes political scene: "Letzte Tatsache hatte ein Gutteil der deutschen und französischen Romanisten veranlaßt, sie zumindest teilweise in mehr oder weniger direkter Form als Zeugnisse fränkischer Herrensiedlungen über einheimischen Bauerns hindurch in Anspruch zu nehmen." (Franz Petri, Volkserbe, Bonn: 1937, p. 36.)
...le maximum de densité des noms de lieux en -court se trouvant on Lorraine, tandis que celui des noms en -ville est en Beauce." Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 136.

ibid., pp. 137, §154.

"...l'examen de la toponymie fait présumer que le système contraire tendait à prévaloir." ibid., p. 138.

loc. cit.

Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 138.

ibid., p. 139.

Longnon, p. 228 §931.

Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 139.

loc. cit.

ibid., p. 140.

Longnon, on the other hand, is very aware of this complex problem. Longnon, p. 295 §1230.

Lack of documents is one primary reason as Longnon states in reference to Visigothic territories: "Les textes antérieurs au IXe siècle qui concernent ces régions sont à la vérité, peu nombreux". ibid., p. 205 §857.

This particular problem is acknowledged by both Vincent and Longnon. Vincent: "Les noms en -ing sont souvent difficiles à distinguer de ceux dérivés au moyen du suffixe figure -incus." op. cit., p. 137 §317. Longnon: "Mais il serait dangereux d'être plus affirmatif, car dans les formes modernes des noms de lieux le suffixe -incus se distingue difficilement d'un suffixe
germanique presque identique, -ing..." Longnon, p. 20 §26.


Longnon includes also -stroom, -lar, op. cit., pp. 215-6 §§879-884.

Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 144.

ibid., p. 145.

ibid., p. 188.

ibid., p. 146.


Despite the exclusion of those names which occur in both West and North Germanic dialects, one need not therefore necessarily magnify the effect of the Scandinavian element, for fewer place-names are composed with these than with such West Germanic appellatives as: -burg, -heim, -tun, -sal etc., etc.


Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 146.

ibid., p. 201.

Longnon, p. 272 §1163; Dauzat: "L'influence germanique se manifeste indirectement par la conservation à la finale de nombreux noms de rivières, d'un cas régime qui s'était développé en ancien français, d'après le germanique pour les noms féminin, -ain...", Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 201.
"Il faut cependant remarquer que ces mots ne sont pas très nombreux, qu'ils n'ont pas réussi à détrôner les dénominations classiques, comme mons, vallis, pons...", ibid., p. 62.

"Tout d'abord, au Vᵉ et au VIᵉ siècles les conquérants ne purent imposer que le nom de personne, le suffixe étant donné par les Gallo-Romains. C'est pourquoi nous trouvons une première couche formée d'anthroponymes et du suffixe -iacus..." ibid., p. 63.

Vincent's explanation of its sense is an even broader one. He feels it connotes relationship, descent, dependency or belonging. Vincent, op. cit., p. 137 §317.

This view finds support from Vincent.

Longnon demonstrates that -enges, -anges are the Frankish equivalents of -ing. (p. 218 §890). He also holds that the suffix -ans is due to Burgundian influence. (p. 198 §814).

For example, Gröhler supports the view that -fara is common to the other idioms: "Doch muß das Wort auch im Fränkischen und Gallischen vorhanden gewesen sein, wie sein Vorkommen in O.N. beweist'
Ursprung, p. 255. Longnon, however, places it in the study of non-Frankish common nouns. p. 214 §875.

102 Rostaing, Les Noms de lieux, p. 68.

103 Longnon, (Les noms de lieu de la France) p. 188 §761-2.

104 Rostaing, Les Noms de lieux, p. 68.

105 loc. cit.

106 Dauzat, Les Noms de lieux, p. 147, Rostaing, Les Noms de lieux, pp. 70-71.

107 Rostaing, loc. cit.

108 loc. cit.

109 See the supporting views of Vincent, Dauzat -- Vincent "L'adoption du type germanique de composition nom de personne et nom commun, pour des noms romans, suppose que le masse de la population étant restée romane, un parler germanique était dans une certaine mesure en usage (dans conditions variables suivant les endroits)." Toponymie, p. 170 §403. Dauzat: "Après les grandes Invasions, il est indubitable que l'influence germanique a remis en honneur le type complément et déterminé (Romani villa, Romain ville)...." Les Noms de lieux, p. 138.

110 Rostaing, Les Noms de lieux, p. 72.

111 Vincent, op. cit., p. 180 §429.

112 Rostaing, op. cit., p. 73.

113 Longnon, p. 125 §517.

114 Rostaing, op. cit., p. 73. Though Longnon feels that "cortis is a superior gauge of distribution: "On rencontre des noms de lieux
formés à l'aide de cortis dans la Bourgogne, la Franche Comté, et les parties de la Suisse qui avoisinent la Jura, mais surtout dans les pays où s'établirent les hommes de race franque...", Longnon, p. 226 §927.

115 loc. cit.

116 Rostaing, Les Noms de lieux, p. 74.

117 Longnon, p. 135 §541.

118 Vincent, op. cit., p. 176 §410.


120 Longnon: "...la persistance en Gaule, à l'époque franque, de l'usage de ce suffixe (-iacus) a été précédemment signalée." p. 223 §948.

121 Rostaing, Les Noms de lieux, p. 74.

122 Longnon, p. 236 §954.

123 Vincent, op. cit., p. 184 §434.

124 Rostaing, op. cit., p. 76.

125 loc. cit.


127 Dauzat, p. 201.

128 Rostaing, p. 112.

129 See Longnon, p. 256 §1132.

130 Maurits Gysseling, Nederzettingsnamen, p. 5, "...niet een grondig noch definitief exposé".
131 ibid., p. 5.

132 loc. cit.


134 ibid., p. VIII.

135 "En effet, ce dictionnaire n'est pas absolument complet, et les lacunes qu'il présente se justifient de deux manières: ou bien nous n'avons pu rencontrer, dans les documents dont nous disposions, aucune forme ancienne... ou bien nous avions des formes anciennes, mais nous ne savions comment les analyser..." ibid., Préface, p. VII.
B. Monographs

After the review and discussion of the general works on French toponymy, it is appropriate to turn our attention to the specific articles and monographs. Some of these works are of a decidedly historical bent, especially with regard to toponymic evidence supporting various hypotheses on settlement, and others tend to stress more of a linguistic perspective, whilst the majority combine a more or less equal measure of both. This is not surprising since toponymy properly forms a branch of historical linguistics. Rather than examining them in chronological sequence according to publication, let us begin with the most extensive monograph, a well organised, detailed opus composed by the German toponymist, Franz Petri: *Germanisches Volkserbe in Wallonien und Nordfrankreich*. The somewhat wordy title might well be construed as a reflection of the amplitude of this treatise. From the outset it should be pointed out that Petri's primary concern in creating this book is an historical one: the determination of the extent of Frankish colonisation of northern France and Wallonia and its cultural consequences, especially the formation of the linguistic frontier. In other words, he attempts, by means of toponymic and archaeological evidence, to evaluate the Germanic legacy, "Volkserbe", the historical, linguistic and social effects of the Frankish occupation. In
his assessment of the linguistic, cultural contribution of the ancient Germans to Gallia Romana, Petri feels it has been sadly neglected or even minimised by French scholars: "Aber im allgemeinen ist der Franzose nicht geneigt, den germanischen Grundlagen seines Volkes und seiner Kultur stärkere Beachtung widerfahren zu lassen." Thus, clearly, his interest in toponymy is largely determined by its value as a scientific aid, a "Hilfswissenschaft", to arrive at his historical goal. This view Petri summarises in the introduction to the first volume (of his two volume work): "Kann eine solche Arbeit niemals ohne ein gründliches Einarbeiten in der Namenkunde unternommen werden so war unser letztes Interesse doch kein namenkundliches in einem eng fachwissenschaftlichen Sinne, sondern ein geschichtliches." Toponymy should be a means to an end rather than an end itself: "Der letzte Akzent unserer Untersuchung heißt so überall auf der geschichtlichen Seite der Dinge. Wir glauben, daß der Versuch einmal gewagt werden mußte, aus der ins Unabsehbare auseinanderfließenden toponomischen Einzelforschung die geschichtliche Summe zu ziehen." In respect of the great weight placed upon the historical value of toponymy, Petri may be compared to Auguste Longnon. In his historical aim and its extension Petri is actually realising something already foreseen by the historian, Marc Bloch: "Peut-être les études archéologiques et toponymiques nous apporteront-elles un jour quelques précisions sur la répartition des groupes barbares dans la Gaule du Nord."

The examination, as the title implies, focuses upon the Francophone regions of Northern France above the Loire River and the portion of southern Belgium to the linguistic frontier.
As the chief part of the Germanic toponyms of Gallia are encountered in this area and as those south of the Loire may often derive from any of several Germanic tribes, Petri's restriction therefore appears justified: "Es wäre unratsam gewesen, das schon so sehr weit gespannte Feld der Untersuchung nochmals um ein Mehrfaches und in einem Ausmaß zu erweitern, das in keinerlei Verhältnis, zu den jenseits der Loiregrenze zu erwartenden Ergebnissen gestanden hätte." 143 Certainly the difficulty of determining the proper origin of the Germanic place-names beyond the Loire border influenced Petri's choice of "Untersuchungsraum" (area of research): "Zu dem stellt sich das schon innerhalb unseres Untersuchungsgebietes nicht selten auftauchende Problem, ob die jeweilig germanischen Namenspuren den Franken oder einem anderen Germanenvolk zuzuweisen, mit wachsender Schärfe." 144 Even north of the Loire, this complication of etymological investigation exists. To provide a better overview, this area may be divided into three portions: the valley of the Meuse embracing almost all of Wallonia, France north of the Seine and those French lands between the Loire and the Seine. Petri views these divisions as expedient to a general investigation but attaches no greater significance to them: "Diese Gliederung, der im übrigen keine tiefe Bedeutung zukommt, bedarf wohl keiner besonderen Rechtfertigung." 145 Furthermore he affirms that the regions along the linguistic border, especially those in Belgium, deserve more attention because of the insights their toponymic material may provide on the formation and consequences of this barrier between two peoples which Petri characterised thus: "Sie war aber vor allem eine völkische Rückzugslinie." 146
In general, the organisation of the toponymic material follows two parallel lines. There is the geographical arrangement of toponyms according to administrative divisions, and a systematic grouping of names after common semantic values, e.g.: the toponyms relevant to bodies of water are classified under the chapter heading "Gewässerbezeichnungen". In his geographical arrangement of the toponyms, Petri stands alone amongst the toponymists examined till now but the systematisation according to semantic categories is employed too in the works of Longnon, Vincent, and Gröhler. Petri advances an excellent justification for the geographical organisation of the material to the effect that a knowledge of the distribution of these Germanic toponyms may shed light upon the question of settlement: "Ohne eine genaue Kenntnis der Verteilung der Namen im Raume ist aber eine zuverlässige siedlungsgeschichtliche Gesamtauswertung der fränkischen Ortsnamen ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit." Clearly the systematic grouping of names after common meanings facilitates the linguistic and etymological analysis of those place-names of which they form a past. For Petri's purposes this organisation appears indispensible: "Erörterung der sprachlichen und etymologischen Fragen und ebenso für manche sprachgeographischen Beobachtungen die systematische Anordnung des Materials nach wie vor unumgänglich."  

This research work is structured after four basic divisions: the first concerns the repartition of Germanic toponyms in those provinces and départements of Wallonia and Northern France, the second is an examination of the Germanic toponyms of these regions arranged according to certain Germanic appellatives, the
third treats principally of the anthropological and archaeological discoveries pertaining to Frankish colonisation, the fourth contains the concluding remarks, theories of the author. Necessarily the larger, catholic divisions of the text are further partitioned into various sub-headings in order to render the study more coherent. In the first part entitled, "Die germanischen Ortsnamen und ihrer Verteilung über die einzelnen Provinzen und Départements", the Germanic toponyms principally of the Walloon-speaking portions of the provinces of Liège, Limburg, Brabant and Hainaut are presented and examined from an etymological point of view. For more precise geographical arrangement they figure under the title of their local canton, the smallest Belgian administrative division. Each overview of the Germanic toponyms of a particular province may be broken down into two sections: the first a summary providing information on its ethnogenic character, some linguistic and historical details on Frankish settlement, the general nature of the toponymy and some previous toponymic studies; the second, longer section is devoted to an individual survey of the place-names of the different regions or cantons.

Petri's method of toponymic analysis is very detailed thus affording the researcher a wealth of valuable material. The place-names studied are extremely varied; there are the names of cities, towns, villages, rivers, field-names, even street and country path names etc. The toponyms are listed alphabetically after their modern name, wherever pertinent the French equivalent is indicated, then the dated older forms followed by references to archives, to onomastic works such as that of Förstemann, to
etymological dictionaries and often to works of other toponymists. Obviously the documentation is rich. Not only does Petri give the location of a toponym in terms of the administrative divisions but also, in his pursuit of precision, he often indicates the specific route on which the name is found: Fumal a.d. Mehaigne: Roman road from Thienen-Hoei. Cross referencing is employed in order to link place-names sharing certain elements. Inspite of some possible omissions of toponymic material and doubtful etymological interpretations, Petri estimates the value of this consideration to lie in the evidence it provides on the extent of the Germanic nomenclature in the toponymy of these regions: "Unsere landschaftlichgeordnete Übersicht hat - unbeschadet ihrer Lückenhaftigkeit und mancher Unsicherheiten - das Vorhandensein einer beträchtlichen germanischen Namenschicht in weiten Teilen des ehemaligen Westfrankenreichs ergeben."

In the second part, following the examples of Longnon, Gröhler and Vincent, Petri assembles various toponyms under the heading of certain characteristic Germanic appellatives for comprehensive analysis. However, in contrast to the methods employed by these colleagues, common nouns in turn are grouped according to the nature of their designation into four categories: 1) hydronyms ("Gewässerbezeichnungen"), a very thorough study of the numerous and widespread names in -baki, 2) names referring to vegetation ("Vegetationsbezeichnungen"), especially -ithi, "heath, woodland"; but also -sart, -rod, -ster, -ast, -lar etc; 3) topographical names ("Lagebezeichnungen"), -berg, -here, -här, -dal, etc; 4) names referring to settlement ("Siedlungsbezeichnungen"), i.e.: the prolific compositions with -heim and
others such as the polemic element -ing\(^{151}\) and lastly, the names in -mallum, "meeting-place".

The treatment of the toponyms in these categories merits attention. After a synopsis of the origin, evolution and extension of the appellatives which figure in a given category, there is a survey of certain illustrative place-names. Let us consider the examination of the hydronyms containing -baki. Here toponymic examples culled from both Belgium and France are listed alphabetically in columns, the locations and sometimes older forms are given; matched with these are any synonyms found in the Dutch or German-speaking lands together with their documentary sources.

The final parallel column contains the semantic explanation of the shared epithet. Petri commences with the example of Albais in Brabant which has the Dutch equivalents: Albeke, Aalbeke, Aelbeke and the German equivalents: Albach, Alebecke, Ahlebeke, Aslbeck, Ahlbach, Ahlenbach; all of which possess the Germanic epithet al-, Old High German "stream, river". Indeed this is the analytic procedure employed for the greater part of the material throughout these categories. Additionally, Petri appends to this examination a number of useful maps graphically portraying the repartition of toponyms with specific Germanic appellatives, i.e.: -baki, -heim, -ingheim, -ingen, -malle, -makal, etc. Similar to Albert Dauzat in his *Les Noms de lieux*, Petri demonstrates the density schematically in accordance with the provincial or rather departmental divisions.

Two further themes dealt with by Petri in the latter stages of this section concern the toponymic phenomena arising from the
contact of Germanic and Romance cultures: the hybrid formations in -court, -ville, -villers and the manifold hypotheses as to their origins are treated under the title of "Weilernamen", the complex but intriguing subject of name substitutions, "Ortsnamenausgleich", typical of regions along the linguistic frontier. Regarding the hybrid toponyms, Petri discusses quite thoroughly the many theories advanced by French and other foreign philologists on their significance to the Germanic influx into Gallia Romana. He proceeds from the Gröber-Schiber theory, to which Longnon also adhered, which maintains that the cortis compositions are a direct result of Frankish colonisation. and therefore may serve to illuminate the complex question of racial distribution, to the even more daring hypothesis of Gamillscheg that many such names are merely translations of originally wholly Germanic compositions and since these could only occur in bilingual areas, they can act as a gauge of the progress of assimilation. Though Petri agrees with certain aspects of the current theories, he nevertheless continues to sift through them exposing their various weaknesses and emphasising the paradox of those hybrids' historical implications. Naturally the name-substitutions ("doublets") or the co-existence of two separate versions for a single toponym can furnish some precious insights on the creation, phonetic evolution and, later, the assimilation of Germanic toponyms in Francophone territory. For his investigation Petri has chosen the provinces of Lorraine and Alsace where the consequences of a French-German synthesisation are very often manifested in the local toponymy. In the case of Lorraine he examines doublets exhibiting substitutions from Germanic -ingen to
Romance -iacus, ville and court; from -dorff to -ville or -court; and from -berg to -mont. Once again, in tabular exposition, the modern doublets with their respective older forms (dated) are contrasted in opposite columns under the heading of the substituted elements, i.e.: -ingen, -acus or vice versa. Although the research areas chosen by Petri do not properly belong to the Frankish zone of colonisation but rather, primarily, to that of a kindred tribe, the "Alamanni", the "Ausgleich phenomena" would almost certainly apply equally well to both. Petri himself explains that this was done to afford a wider scope to the investigation: "Im Interesse einer möglichst allseitigen Beleuchtung des Problems werden wir dabei unsere Beobachtungen auf einer umfassenderen Grundlage aufbauen als bisher und auch die nichtfränkischen Abschnitte der westlichen Sprachgrenze in die Untersuchung mit einzubeziehen."156

For Alsace no tables of examples exist, instead the author is content to discuss the salient aspects of translation and the doublet phenomenon and exemplify them in footnotes. The most prominent substitution in Alsace is from -dorff to -court. This Petri illustrates by ten place-names with their alternative Romance and Germanic forms.157 On the basis of this enquiry, Petri feels justified in supporting Ferdinand Lot's conclusion that in many cases the French and German forms of a "border toponym" arose simultaneously and separately: "Le nom d'un même domaine a été formé à l'époque franque simultanément en germanique et en roman."158

For illustrative purposes Petri provides a map of the linguistic frontier in Lorraine upon which the various substitutions, "Ausgleiche", have been indicated. The very last pages of the second part are devoted to the myriad place-names containing Germanic
anthroponyms and the Gallo-roman suffix -acum. A map shows their geographical distribution over northern France and Wallonia. Regarding the "Weiler" names, Petri maintains that these toponyms should not necessarily be seen as an indicator of Germanic penetration. However, because the -acum names generally stem from a period when the vogue for Germanic personal names had not yet seized the Gallo-Romans they may serve as a standard in determining the extent of substitutions: "Am ehesten ist diese Methode (for ascertaining the number of substitutions) für den Ausgleich germanischer Siedlungssuffixe zu -acum angängig. Er stammt aus einer Zeit, in der die Sitte des Tragens germanischer Personennamen bei den Romanen noch nicht sehr verbreitet gewesen sein dürfte."

The third part of Petri's work is devoted to archaeological and anthropological evidence of Germanic settlement in northern France and Wallonia. Through the excavation of Frankish graves, the discoveries of vessels and ornaments of Frankish manufacture and the examination of skeletal remains he attempts to reconstruct the approximate zone of settlement. As a further aid to determining the extent of Germanic colonisation, which Petri suggests is an ethnological one, he propounds a thorough investigation into the racial characteristics of the population of these regions in order to discern to what degree it may derive from the predominantly Nordic Franks. The combination of racial and toponymic evidence as well as archaeological finds should prove invaluable in this matter: "Täuschen wir uns nicht, so darf die von ihr nachgewiesene Verbreitung des nordischen Typs über Nordfrankreich neben dem Auftreten der germanischen Ortsnamen und neben der Verbreitung der frühmittelalterlichen Bodenfunde in diesen Gebieten als ein weiteres
wichtiges Argument für die Bedeutung der fränkischen Volkssiedlung im Chlodwigreiche in Betracht gezogen werden". Moreover by means of a map Petri demonstrates the distribution of the Nordic race over central and western Europe.

Later, on the theme of the relation of the various tribes to settlement, Petri examines the problem of distinguishing the legacies of the Salic and Ripuarian branches of the Franks through a discussion of the -sele names and also those place-names which reflect in themselves the presence of a particular tribe, for example: toponyms containing the proper nouns Alemanni, Burgundian, Frank etc. As to the formation of this latter group of toponyms the author takes the view that their Romance mode of composition attests to their creation by Romance-speaking peoples: "Von den germanischen Spuren der fränkischen Zeit unterscheidet sich diese ganze Namensklasse, deutlich dadurch, daß sie ihrer Bildung nach romanisch ist, nur der Inhalt der Namen selber gestattet, die Siedlung den Germanen zuzu­zuschreiben. Ihre Benennung stammt, im Unterschied, zu der germanischen Bevölkerung selber, sondern von ihren romanischen Nachbarn."  

In the concluding fourth part of his work, Petri evaluates all the evidence of a toponymic, archaeological, ethnological nature which pertains to the theme of Frankish settlement and the formation of the modern linguistic frontier. There are fifteen pages of concluding remarks. The following statement in which he speaks of the significance of the Frankish settlement may summarise his findings: "Wir stehen am Ende. Mit Hilfe einer möglichst umfassenden Auswertung des namengeschichtlichen Quellenmaterials hoffen wir gezeigt zu haben, daß die völkischen und kulturellen Wirkungen, die von der fränkischen Landnahme ausgegangen sind, nicht von vornherein an der germanisch-
In other words, Petri has attempted to demonstrate through his toponymic, archaeological, and linguistic documentation that the influence of the Frankish occupation pervaded the whole territory under their dominion.

Franz Petri's toponymic work includes not only this extensive writing, but also a number of treatises and articles in learned journals. In the Darmstadt research publication "Erträge der Forschung" (1977) he presents two reports concerned essentially with the value of toponymic investigation in establishing the scale of Germanic settlement as well as the process of consolidation of the linguistic frontier. As in Volkserbe, he reiterates the necessity of combining the results of archaeological and toponymic research to arrive at a good general impression of the scale of Frankish colonisation in northern Gaul: "Erst kombiniert (with archaeological evidence) vermöchten die unmittelbaren Namenreste, die unter germanischen Einfluß enstandenen Namen vom Typus der Weilernamen und der Ortsnamenausgleich - so suchte ich im "Volkserbe" nachzuweisen - eine ungefähre Gesamtvorstellung von dem Ausmaß der fränkischen Volkssiedlung in Nordgallien zu vermitteln."166

Both reports are brief and deal primarily with the various toponymic hypotheses of other scholars which Petri criticises in the light of their value to the question of Germanic settlement. The first report, Das Zeugnis der Ortsnamen, contains a critical analysis of the principal theories advanced by leading toponymists in the years 1926-53. The examination encompasses Gamillscheg's theory that a considerable number of toponyms may not originate from the
earliest period of Germanic settlement but from a later influx. Petri supports this hypothesis.\textsuperscript{167} Also considered in this report are: the rather far-fetched theory of a Romanist\textsuperscript{168} who attributes the syntax of the "Weiler" names (in -court, -ville, -villers) to Gallic rather than Germanic influence,\textsuperscript{169} the various theories of Wartburg, Gysseling and especially the Germanist W. Jungandreas on the question of toponymic assimilation, "Namenausgleich", in the regions along the language border like northern Wallonia and the Moselle area. Finally there is Kaspers' proposal for the addition of Germanic "Political names" to those categories which reflect the Germanic influence in Gallia. This, Petri treats with suspicion on account of the contrived, unconvincing nature of the examples (see p. 48) and some rather faulty interpretations: "Überhaupt ist Kaspers Namen-deutung nicht selten sehr gezwungen und mit den Gewohnheiten früh-mittelalterlicher Namengebung schwerlich im Einklang".

In the second report, \textit{Das Zeugnis der Orts- und Personen-namen}, Petri continues with this critical appraisal of more recent toponymic research from 1953 to 1976 regarding Frankish settlement. At the commencement of this update report, Petri underscores the invaluable evidence of Frankish influence offered by the phenomena of the "Weiler" names and of toponymic assimilation: "Fränkische Ortsnamen, Namen vom Avricourt oder Weiler-typus und Prozesse des Ortsnamenausgleichs sind die Sprachphänomene, die aus dem Bereich der Toponymie als Zeugnisse für die Frankonisierung des ehemaligen Nordgallien in erster Linie im Betracht kommen."\textsuperscript{170} More precisely Petri devotes the report to an evaluation of Maurits Gysseling's \textit{Toponymisch Woordenboek}, a dictionary of the toponyms of Belgium, Holland, North France and West Germany before the year 1226, indeed, Petri extolls
it as the most significant work of the period: "...die unstreitig wichtigste toponymische Neuerscheinung (der Berichtszeit)..."\(^{171}\) and to a series of theories and works on the various aspects of toponymic assimilation, bilingualism, the importance of anthroponymy. From this analysis he concludes that the foremost service of Gysseling's book is its evidence of the profound mixture of Romance and Germanic elements in the toponymy of a portion of northwestern Gaul.\(^{172}\) On the subject of anthroponymy, Petri considers its value in reflecting the Frankish cultural heritage of these regions to have been too long ignored.\(^{173}\) Various recent research works and some historical sources like the Irminon Polyptic are briefly discussed. In conclusion, it is Petri's view that the extraordinary incidence of Germanic anthroponyms in Romance territory attests undeniably to the pervasive character of Germanic influence:

"Nichts zeigt wohl deutlicher, daß die Annahme der germanischen Namen durch die übergroße Mehrzahl der Romanen in den Kernteilen des Westfrankenreiches kein Ausfluß einer bloßen Mode war, sondern die Folge einer allen Lebensbereiche erfassenden germanisch-römischen Symbiose, bei der die fränkischen Führungsschichten des Reiches in einem wahrhaft erstaunlichen Weise prägend zu wirken vermochten."\(^{174}\) The Germanic toponyms, the toponyms formed due to Germanic influence and the anthroponyms all are ineffaceable manifestations of the wide-spread Germanic-Romance cultural fusion characteristic of Northern Gallia. A concluding remark to Volkserbe expressed it thus: "Die bleibenden Wirkungen die von der Landnahme auf die Gesamtentwicklung der reromanisierten Gebiete ausgegangen sind, sind nichts destoweniger beträchtlich. Walloniens und Nordfrankreichs Volkstum, Sprache, und Kultur sind von ihr tiefgehend beeinflußt worden."\(^{175}\)
Although Petri's research and critical appraisal of the work of other toponymists undoubtedly merits attention, it should be noted that he does not appear to have approached the subject of Frankish settlement and its cultural, linguistic ramifications in a totally impartial, scientific manner. This venerable academic worked in Germany, circa 1936, under the ultra-nationalistic Hitlerian régime, and must have been influenced to some degree by the chauvinistic, racist perspective which then permeated all aspects of life including, lamentably, the human sciences. It seems somewhat an exaggeration on his part to have concluded in *Volkserbe* that Frankish colonisation was so extremely fundamental to the civilisation of northern Gallia.\(^{176}\)

The seeds of chauvinism are to be found in Petri's writings. He, like many of his compatriots following the disastrous Great War, was concerned for those Germans in the lost territories, the German-speaking inhabitants of East Belgium (Eupen-Malmédy) and of Alsace-Lorraine as well as in the east, and sought to encourage them to resist assimilation. In *Volkserbe*, Petri makes an impassioned appeal to ethnic Germans, "Volksdeutsche", in these regions to cultivate their heritage: "Genau wie alles übrige Geschehen sucht auch die deutsche Volksgeschichte auf dynamischen und nicht auf statischen Grundlagen: Was Du vererbt von Deinen Vätern hast, erwirb es, um es zu besitzen" - das gilt in der Volksgeschichte so gut wie sonst im Leben."\(^{177}\) Also the employment of terminology typical of the National Socialist racial and political ideology
seems to suggest that Petri was more than superficially influenced by them, for example, the following words or phrases often crop up in *Volkserbe*: volkspolitisch, Rassenbild, nordische Rasse, sprachfremd, artfremd, völkisches Geschehen etc. Indeed his emphasis upon racial evidence to substantiate his claim of a wide-spread Germanic colonisation of North Gaul conforms entirely with the ethnological interpretations underlying historical research of the period. One might well apply to Petri the warning issued by Dauzat in his *Toponymie* (1939) against political or nationalistic bias which might distort toponymic research: "A une époque où certaines doctrines politiques cherchent à asservir la science, on ne sera pas étonné si la toponymie a été utilisé pour étayer des révindications nationalistes de l'heure présente."¹⁷⁸ In all fairness one cannot accuse him of agitating for territorial adjustments but certainly of prejudice in favour of the Germanic contribution to the culture and civilisation of Wallonia and Northern France.

Regardless of his political views, Petri's works do offer some valuable information to the researcher. The scope of research is very broad; he does not merely treat "lieux habités" but "lieux-dits" (microtoponymy), choronyms, oronyms and hydronyms. Locations are given in great detail. The earliest forms are provided with dates and exact indications of the sources. The arrangement according to province and canton affords one a good general view of geographical distribution whilst the later tabular method facilitates comparison of bilingual toponyms. Though the material is not as extensive as in Longnon's or Vincent's works, it is, nevertheless, considerable and may be easier to assimilate on account of the organisation. Petri
devotes much attention to the study of the Germanic appellatives examining origin, phonetic and semantic evolution and geographical repartition. Some excellent examples organised under the appropriate appellative are cited. Particularly interesting is Petri's evaluation of some of the chief hypotheses and problems involved in the question of the Germanic toponyms of the Francophone areas of northern Gallia, i.e.: the Gröber-Schiber theory on Frankish settlement, the origin of the "Weiler" names, the significance and causes of toponymic assimilation ("Ausgleiche") and finally the estimation of the respective contributions of the Salic and Ripuanian branches of the Frankish folk-group. This naturally is also the advantage of the two reports he submitted about the "état présent" of research on the historical importance of the Germanic toponyms to the journal Erträge der Forschung.

Apart from Franz Petri's Volkserbe and articles there are a number of other valuable monographs on the various aspects of the Germanic toponyms of the northern Gallo-Romance area. Some of these appear as articles in journals, some are books whilst still others are chapters in larger works. They may be distinguished from one another by the perspective - whether primarily linguistic, historical or a marriage of both. We shall evaluate them succinctly on an individual basis so as to gain a good overview. In the second volume of his Ausgewählte Aufsätze (Tübingen, 1962) Ernst Gamillscheg presents the article, "La colonisation germanique dans la Gaule du Nord", wherein he attempts to determine the significance of Germanic settlement by means of toponymic distribution. He begins the article by discussing the historical situation of the Teutonic tribes at the time of the first invasions, then outlines the consequences of
the co-existence of two nations that is, "doublets", arising from two parallel systems of toponymic nomenclature and the subsequent causes and effects of assimilation. Since this examination is a very general view of a large question, few place-names are cited as examples. Perhaps the salient point of the article is Gamillscheg's premise that those toponyms, whether Romance or Germanic, which do not reflect the phonetic state typical of the 5th century do not stem from the first period of Franco-Roman contact. The other place-names are reflections of what Gamillscheg terms a "post-migration". This article provides some interesting details on the ramifications of co-existence and re-romanisation on the toponymy of northern France and Wallonia.

Another article with an historical bent is Walther von Wartburg's "Die fränkische Siedlung in Nordfrankreich im Spiegel der Ortsnamen" published in the Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. Here, similar to Petri's Volkserbe, the focus is upon the determination of the extent of Germanic influence: "...die Frage des Ausmasses fränkischen Einschlags in Nordgallien..." (Wartburg, p. 284). This article is divided into five sections concerning the evaluation of toponymic research which reveals something about Frankish settlement. The chapter "Forschungslage" embraces Wartburg's criticism of Gamillscheg's massive Romania Germanica (3 vols. 1934-1936) which possesses "...ein reiches Material an Wörter und Namen" (Wartburg, p. 285) and appraises the following works where, according to the author, the material has been insufficiently checked and erroneous theories are propounded: Petri's interdisciplinary study in Volkserbe and Gamillscheg's pendant to Petri's work, Germanische Siedlung in Belgien und Nordfrankreich (Abhandlungen der
preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937). In the remaining chapters Wartburg devotes himself to a detailed assessment of the principal theories advanced in Gamillscheg's latest treatise, i.e.: the linguistic distinction between the Salic and Ripuarian Franks, the hypothesis of subsequent waves of Germanic settlers after the initial colonisation in the 5th century (supported by some toponymic evidence, i.e.: the -bizi and -ingham people), and an investigation into the origin of the villers names in southern Lorraine and the northern Franche-Comté. This monograph closes with a series of concise conclusions based upon the critical review of the preceding works. Wartburg's chief conclusion accords closely with the opinion expressed by Franz Petri in Volkserbe, namely that the pervasive Frankish influence in northern Gallia was due to a large popular influx: "Unumstritten ist jetzt wohl die Erkenntnis, daß fränkische Volkskraft in weitem Ausmaß sich über ganz Nordgallien ergossen hat. Vorbei ist es endgültig mit der alten Meinung von dem bloß dynamischen Charakter der Reichsgründung Chlodwigs. Die Franken haben ihren Führer von Anfang begleitet, haben seine Unternehmung mitgetragen, haben ihren Anteil gehabt an der Weitung des Lebensraumes, haben Nordgallien neu und intensiv besiedelt." The main advantage of Wartburg's work lies in the cogent, apparently impartial evaluations of these two significant toponymic treatises.

Ernst Gamillscheg's Romania Germanica published in 3 volumes between 1934-36 attempts, like Petri's later work Volkserbe, to evaluate the legacy of the ancient German tribes in Romania through linguistic and historical research. A second edition of the work published in 1970 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter) will serve as the basis for this appraisal. The goal of the second edition is the
same as that of the original, viz: "...die Darstellung der Romania in dem, was in ihr an germanischen Spuren erhalten ist." (p. VI, Vorwort). The value of this work is in Gamillscheg's synthesis of toponymic, onomastic, phonological and historical evidence to arrive at a picture of the lasting Germanic influence in Romance territory: "Es bleibt der R.G. (Romania Germanica) das Verdienst in diesem Augenblick das Wagnis einer Synthese auf sich genommen..." However, the whole work does not concern toponymy: it is only the sections on the Franks and Burgundians which examine the contributions of their idioms to the place-names of France. Volume I has a 314 page section (pp. 38-352) on the Franks and their influence upon French toponymy. There are four main divisions: i) a consideration of the etymology and toponymic examples of the Gallo-Roman and Germanic suffixes (i.e.: -iacum, -acum, -iaca, -iacas; -inges, -ange(s)), appellatives (-hém, -haim; -curtis, -villa, -villare) and the Germanic compounds (-ingheim, -ingatun). ii) a look at the Frankish words not adopted by the Gallo-Romans but which figure in toponymy, ie: akker "arable field" = Acre, des Acrex, (Eure), L'Acre (Mayenne) or wrōsti "desert" = Wortnne/Hainaut, Belg.) iii) an examination of the phonological changes reflected in the romanised forms of Germanic place-names iv) a series of fine surveys of the Germanic toponymy of the départements north of the Loire. In addition to the wealth of toponyms, complete with early forms and dates, there are many excellent maps which detail the distribution of various place-name types. Each survey of a département has at least one such map. For example in the case of Haute Saône (p. 218) Gamillscheg provides a map which shows the geographical breakdown of the -ingos, -court names.
Volume III which devotes 200 pages solely to the Burgundians displays essentially the same organisation as that dealing with the Franks: the Burgundian -ingos and the Gallo-Roman/Romance -iacum, -anum, -incum are etymologised and examples are considered; overviews of each of the départements from former Burgundian territory are provided; the Frankish element, especially the -ingas names, in northern Burgundy is investigated; a large dictionary of the -ingos names from Abbans (Doubs) to Yens (Waadt, Switzerland) gives etymological details, locations, early forms and dates; and finally Burgundian personal names separated into lists of first and second elements, are explained and illustrated by appropriate toponyms ie: Buda "messenger" = Brénans (Ain) To facilitate reference Gamillscheg appends an index which enables the researcher readily to find toponyms, personal names, endings and appellatives. For the specialist or the student of toponymy this work, though primarily historical in bent, has a number of attractions: a systematic, well documented etymologisation and explanation of toponyms and of various place-name genera, many useful maps showing the distribution of certain place-names, individual surveys of certain départements north of the Loire and in Burgundy, and the excellent arrangement and referencing of the toponymic material.

In 1933, Ferdinand Lot, historian and toponymist, produced an excellent study in Romania (volume LIX) entitled, "De l'origine et de la signification historique des noms de lieux en -ville et en -court." Impressed by the clear, well documented hypothesis it contains, Albert Dauzat termed it "un remarquable article." As implied by the title, Lot intends to consider the provenance, and the toponymic and historical importance of the Romance appellatives
-villa and -court. He maintains that these appellatives composed with Germanic anthroponyms are of "formation relativement récente." Lot does not subscribe to Longnon's theory that these names derive from Germanic sources, especially Frankish ones. He declares "cette assertion ne résiste pas à la réflexion," on account of the presence of the Romance appellatives which would suggest that the Germans had already become assimilated linguistically. Since the re-romanisation was effected rather late (VIIth c.) it follows that these formations must be of a more recent origin and therefore useless in determining racial distribution: "...elles cessent de nous offrir un critère précieux pour la géographie ethnique de la Gaule." In order to emphasise the unsuitability of the -ville, -court toponyms in any determination of the repartition of the Germanic people in north Gaul, Ferdinand Lot proves by examples that the -court formations derive from the Roman period and merely continued afterwards: "Il faut obéir à un véritable parti pris pour nier que la formation en cour ait commencé dès l'époque romaine. L'ère mérovingienne en a vu seulement le développement." Thus they cannot all claim Germanic origin. Moreover, even the syntax of these formations is not necessarily exclusively Germanic. Lot rightly refers to the substitution process by which ville and cour replaced the older composite formations terminating in the Gallo-Roman -iacus: "Les composés en ville et en cour se substituant à des formations avec suffixe -iacus, la tendance naturelle était de rejeter ces termes à la fin du mot." These appellatives do not only combine with Germanic but also with Latin anthroponyms, i.e.: Pierrecourt (Haute Saône, Saône et Loire), Remicourt (Siene), Romainville (near Paris), Morville (Beauce).
In contradiction of Longnon's claim that these names are limited to the area north of the Loire, Lot points out that a considerable number of examples occur to the south in wholly Romance territory. In this way Ferdinand Lot succeeds, if not in demolishing the complacent hypotheses, then, at least, in raising serious doubts as to their veracity. Lot proceeds to study the significance for the question of Germanic settlement of *villa* and its variants *villers*, *villare*; *court* with its hypocoristic form *corticella*, and *mansus* with its numerous alternative forms. He examines the delicate case of the toponymic situation in the bilingual frontier regions of France. It is a complex situation for the toponyms often reveal nothing about the extent of Germanic occupation because the toponymist is unable to discern which of the bilingual forms is the original. Indeed, Lot proposes that it is probable in many cases that both forms arose independantly of one another.

Lot continues examining the various factors which appear to substantiate his view that these place-name types afford no insights into the racial distribution: "Notre conclusion c'est donc que les localités en -*cour*, *ville*, -*meix*, etc. sont impuissantes à fournir les renseignements précieux que l'on dit touchant la distribution des "races" sur le sol de la Gaule."194 The final section of this treatise investigates the frequency and ethnological importance of the -*ville* names coupled with Scandinavian anthroponyms characteristic of Normandy. Again these names do not serve to indicate the presence of a Germanic population, rather it is only those place-names possessing a Germanic appellative which may be regarded as attesting to this: "Il n'y a présomption de peuplement scandinave que lorsque les deux parties du composé sont des termes norrois."195 Lot concludes this article
with a statement stressing the inapplicability of the -court, -ville toponyms to a determination of Germanic settlement. Rather than attributing their formation to a Germanic origin he regards it as "...une évolution naturelle, à la fois phonétique et sémantique, du latin de la Gaule." In his disquisition on the causes and consequences of the "Völkerwanderung", Les Invasions: les vagues germaniques (Paris: 1965), Lucien Musset expressed the essence of Lot's thesis in this fashion: "Lot a achevé de démontrer que les innombrables toponymes en -ville et en -court composés avec un nom d'homme germanique pour premier ou second terme ne signifient rien pour l'histoire du peuplement franc ou l'extension du dialecte francique..." Additionally, this enquiry puts to rest certain erroneous, at the very least misleading, theories elaborated by people like Longnon and Dauzat at an earlier stage.

Similar to Petri's two critical reports in Erträge der Forschung, Johannes Hubschmid consecrates a brief article to the toponymic study of Belgium and the Walloon-German border regions, namely: "Zur Ortsnamenkunde Belgiens und angrenzender romanisch-germanischer Gebiete" (in Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, LXXIX, 1963). Therein he presents a critical account of the contribution to this research made by two particular, recent works: Maurits Gysseling's Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West Duitsland vóór 1226 and Wolfgang Jungandrea's Historisches Lexikon der Siedlungs-und Flurnamen des Mosellandes (1963). Hubschmid's richly documented article comprises four principal divisions: firstly, his critical treatment of the toponymic dictionaries of Gysseling and Jungandreas; secondly, the examination of those words of Romance and pre-Romance origin unsatisfactorily etymologised
by other toponymists; thirdly, a detailed study of those pre-Romance suffixes (i.e.: -awo/-awa; Saravus—die Saar or -avus; Andecavi—Anjou, Pictavi—Poitou). Obviously, Hubschmid's primary interest lies in the examination and interpretation of the toponyms and suffixes of pre-Romance origin since a very limited attention is afforded to his critique of Gysseling and Jungandrea's works. He weighs the good and bad points of both works. The broad scope and prolific etymological interpretations afforded by Gysseling are praised, but there are some negative aspects as well, i.e.: Gysseling has not evaluated all of his sources and often employs examples in his etymologies which have no context. As for Jungandreas, Hubschmid admits that his work is much more modest in scope, but, in contrast, is definitely more scientifically precise in its treatment of the toponyms. However, everything considered, Hubschmid concludes that both general works are valuable contributions to the toponymy of Gallo-Romania especially in the ascertainment of the "Sprachgeschichte beider Räume".

Since such a high proportion of the Germanic place-names of France contain a Germanic personal name, whether masculine or feminine, it is clear that a consideration of the origin, composition, significance of these anthroponyms would prove indispensible to toponymic research. Indeed, on this subject, two writings in particular afford some valuable information. The first, "L'anthroponymie germanique continentale dans l'ancienne Gaule du VIe au VIIe", in Etudes germaniques (janvier-mars, 1969) is a very concise, general assessment by Adigard des Gautries of three aspects of the question, that is: the historical importance, the documentary sources and evidence, and the research work to date. Chiefly, Des
Gautries examines the excellent research into anthroponymy effected by Auguste Longnon and, more recently, by Marie-Ghérèse Morlet of the C.N.R.S. By far the greatest attention is lent to the detailed reference onomasticon which Morlet compiled in 1968, of the Germanic anthroponyms of ancient Gallia (exclusive of the Scandinavian ones). He gives an outline of the methods of organisation and investigation and the documentation peculiar to this work. In summation, Morlet's contribution to the study of both anthroponymy and toponymy is accorded special praise for the richness of its documentation.

The full title of Mlle Morlet's lexicaon of Germanic personal names is: Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VIᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle: I. Les noms issus du germanique continental et les créations gallo-germaniques (C.N.R.S., 1968). The reference to the Germanic anthroponyms figures in the subtitle because this examination is the first part of a larger work on anthroponyms of all derivations. It is a 237 page alphabetical repertory of the majority of the personal names of wholly Germanic or hybrid Gallo-Germanic derivation, their various phonetic variations and hypocoristic forms, with etymological commentary and excellent documentation of sources. For research purposes, Morlet relies largely upon two sources of information: 1) the Recueils des Actes des rois, a collection of laws by French monarchs, 2) various cartularies, charters, necrologies and polyptychs drawn from public and private archives. Certainly, the methodical arrangement and chronological, phonetic interpretations make this book a valuable aid to research. As the bulk of Germanic names customarily are composed of two lexical elements it is logical that under the alphabetically arranged etyma the relevant complex names with phonetic
permutations and the hypocoristic forms should, where available, follow. Morlet provides an etymological explanation of the chief theme and of the second element where the latter has not already been explained as the chief theme in another name. For example, the Germanic etymon gaid found in the Lombardian gaida and Saxon gadu signifies, "sword or lance", its attested compound names are Gaidald and Gaidulfus and its hypocoristic forms are Gaido and Gaiderisus. Regarding the etymologies and meanings of the second elements of the compound names, Morlet suggests reference to the appropriate themes -ald and -ulfus. An alphabetical index of the principal themes utilised in the creation of anthroponyms facilitates research. On account of the coherent organisation, interpretation and wealth of examples, Morlet's work provides valuable information on the essentially Frankish anthroponyms which Adigard des Gautries regards as witnesses of the vitality of their race in North Gallia: "... un vivant témoignage du rôle capital que les Francs ont joué dans la fondation de l'état moderne qui leur doit son nom."²⁰³

Apart from the general works and the monographs, a third source of information on Germanic toponyms of Gallia-Romana is provided by certain chapters of books which address themselves to the history of the Germanic Invasions. Amongst the cultural, linguistic and political consequences of the settlement of Gallia by German tribes, a discussion of the influence upon toponymy is necessarily included. The books to be briefly reviewed here are, for the chief part, historical treatises and reflect the perspectives and research of the period from circa 1935 to 1968.

In 1935, Ferdinand Lot produced Les Invasions germaniques, an excellent historical overview which proceeds from the descent of
the German peoples to their individual conquests in the occidental remnants of the Roman Empire. The second part of his book examines the questions of the co-existence and assimilation of the two nations posterior to the conquest. Therein Lot studies two manifestations of Germanic influence relevant to toponymy, that is: the expropriation of the rural domains with subsequent creation of Germanic designations and the wholesale acceptance of Germanic anthroponyms by the Gallo-Romans. In the case of the first manifestation, Lot traces the progress of colonisation by means of toponymic evidence and, with the second, he exposes the principles of onomastic formation peculiar to the Germans.

The first volume of Paul Lévy's La langue allemande en France (Lyon, 1950), contains a nine page introduction designed to retrace the origins and ramifications for France of the Germanic invasions. His goal is simply formulated at the very outset: "Pour se faire une idée de l'empire linguistique des Germains sur les parlers de la Gaule d'abord, de la France ensuite, il est indispensable de se rappeler très rapidement la forme et l'étendue de leurs infiltrations." Lévy is of the opinion that the German language survives not merely in the paltry proportion of German words incorporated in the French language but also in such areas as toponymy and anthroponymy. He proceeds to outline "grosso modo" the strong contribution to French toponymy by the Germanic tongues. The survey of the simple and complex, pure Germanic and hybrid Germano-romance toponyms is accompanied by a few salient examples. With regard to the vogue of Germanic personal names, Lévy furnishes a sizable alphabetic list of examples contrasting the modern French with the original form. Another historical work with a title very like that of Lot's is Lucien
Musset's *Les Invasions: les vagues germaniques* (Paris, 1965). He addresses the subject of the formation of the linguistic frontier exposing the weaknesses of the current hypotheses. Also, the work includes a few pages of general remarks on the pre-eminence enjoyed by Germanic personal names from the VIth century on and the toponymic innovations wrought by the Germanic "Landnahme" (abrogation of land). Few examples are given and the information is rather too general to be of much use. Finally, the treatise on the history of the Burgundians, *Les Burgondes*, (Neuchâtel, 1968), by Odet Perrin possesses a short section on "Langage et toponymie" wherein certain toponyms of Burgundy and the Franche Comté, supposedly representative of the defunct Burgundian idiom, are presented and analysed. Perrin provides several short lists of toponyms in order to illustrate the use of the typically Burgundian patronymic suffixes -ing, -ung. Though the examples are few, some of them are interesting.

Although this introduction cannot claim to have studied all the contributions made to the research of the Germanic toponyms of France and Belgium, and despite the lack of a chronological treatment of the material, the chief period of investigation from circa the end of the 19th century to the present has been covered: commencing with Longnon's *Les Noms de lieux* (ca. 1880-1920) and continuing up to Rostaing and Dauzat's toponymic lexicon, *Dictionnaire des noms de lieux* (1963). Those sixty-odd years were undeniably the formative ones for the science of toponymy. Now that all the possible aspects of the formation and extension of the Germanic toponyms have been discussed, it is appropriate to proceed to a detailed analysis of the various categories of these toponyms and the hypotheses pertinent to their creation, evolution and significance.
I. A Consideration of the State of Research To Date

B. Monographs


139. Petri, p. 53.

140. Longnon, on toponymic study; in an application to the Minister of Education: "...et j'estime qu'il sortire même de cette seule portion du vaste cadre que je me trace, des lumières précieuses pour l'histoire de notre pays," Longnon, avertissement des Editeurs, p. VII.

141. Petri, Vorwort, p. VI.


143. *loc. cit.*

144. Petri, p. 55.


146. *ibid.*, p. 989.

147. Petri, *Volkserbe*, p. 4


149. Petri, p. 509.

150. Petri, *Volkserbe*, p. 617: "Es ist bekanntlich die allgemeinste und verbreiteste Bezeichnung, die das Germanische für Gruppen oder Bauwerken, in welchen die Menschen zu geselligem
und schützendem Zusammenwohnen sich vereinigen, besaß."

151 See pages 641-643 of Volkserbe. Here Petri discusses the various often widely divergent theories on the significance of this element.

152 Petri, Volkserbe, "...ein direckter Niederschlag der großen germanischen Völkerflut...", p. 707.

153 Petri, Volkserbe, p. 708.

154 The greatest contradiction exposed consists of the seemingly irreconcilable dichotomy between the historical significance of the French "Weilernamen" and their German counterparts; the former supposedly indicating Germanic settlement whilst the latter indicate the Roman or Gallo-Roman settlements. See Petri, Volkserbe, pp. 708-709.

155 Substitutions and translations are intended rather than mere phonetic variants (such as Genf for Genève or Trier for Trèves). Petri confirms this: "Die lediglich durch eine unterschiedliche Lautentwicklung zustandegekommenen Doppelformen etwa Genf neben Genève, Nanzig neben Nancy, Atrecht neben Arras, Treves neben Trier, fallen nicht unter den eigentlichen Ortsnamenausgleich und werden hier deshalb nicht berücksichtigt." Volkserbe, p. 718.

156 Petri, Volkserbe, p. 718.

157 Petri, Volkserbe, see note No. 5, p. 727.

"...als Richtsatz für die Anzahl der Ausgleichungen..."

Volkserbe, p. 756.

cp. cit., Longnon agrees that it was the Franks not the Gallo-Romans who formed these -acus, -iacus names: "... et les Francs, lorsqu'ils vouluient donner leurs noms aux propriétés qu'ils possédaient, combinent ces noms avec le groupe -iacus.

Lot in his article on the compositions in -court and -ville puts little faith in the evidence furnished by excavated tombs because of the difficulty in distinguishing between Frankish and Gallo-Roman: "A moins d'admettre que les Gallo-Romains ne mouraient pas, il faut se résigner à accepter que Francs et indigènes suivaient les mêmes rites de sépulture, car tous les cimetières qu'on peut assigner à l'ère mérovingienne sont 'barbares' ". Lot, p. 204.

Petri, Volkserbe, p. 853.

To what degree did these two branches take part in colonisation? Petri admits the uncertainty incumbent upon such an enquiry: "Ungewiß ist auch der Anteil, den jede von beiden Gruppen von der Landnahme gehabt hat." Volkserbe, p. 871.

Volkserbe, p. 816.

ibid., p. 987.

F. Petri, Das zeugnis der Ortsnamen. Erträge der Forschung, Darmstadt Bericht I, p. 32.

ibid., p. 33.
Here are the three grounds for overthrowing this hypothesis:

1. The Gallic tongue did not exhibit this syntax to a sufficient degree.
2. It is unlikely that the Gallic place-name types would have persisted unaltered through the Roman period.
3. The strength of the Gallic place-name types is not strong enough to create the very numerous place-names with Germanic epithets.

F. Petri, "Das Zeugnis der Orts- und Personennamen", Erträge der Forschung, Bericht II, p. 140.

Diejenige Kategorie fränkischer Namen, an der die große Neuüberprüfung der fränkischen Sprach und Siedlungs-geschichte im letzten halben Jahrhundert so gut wie vorübergegangen war und die infolgedessen auch in der bisherzen Diskussion nur eine ganz untergeordnete Rolle gespielt hat, waren bis vor kurzem die Personennamen.' p. 151, Bericht II.

After the 5th century the unvoiced intervocalic consonants were voiced, ie: Pradellos is the French name of this place, Pradels is the corresponding Flemish form, whilst Pratellos is the older Latin form which demonstrates the unvoiced state of the intervocalic "t". Gamillscheg has taken this place-name from the département of Nord.


ibid., p. 285.

ibid., p. 399.

ibid., p. VI, Vorwort.


Dauzat, Toponymie, p. 32.

Lot, p. 199.

"Pour nous tenir à l'exposé de Longnon, il implique que les localités en -court, ou en partie en -ville, doivent leur origine et leur nom aux Germains qui se sont emparés de la Gaule, plus particulièrement aux Francs." Lot, p. 201.


loc. cit.

loc. cit.
Both Dauzat and Gröhler maintain that the formation was prevalent in Roman times: "Nul ne conteste que les noms de lieux en -ville n'aient été formés en milieu roman." Dauzat, *Toponymie*, p. 53: "Vereinzelt ist dieser Gebrauch im Reiche schon erheblich früher festzustellen." Gröhler cites an example attested in Mauretania, namely; *ovillq*. Gröhler, p. 32.

**Lot, y**, p. 218.

**ibid.**, p. 220.

**ibid.**, p. 238.

**ibid.**, p. 246.

**loc. cit.**


**ibid.**, p. 346.

**ibid.**, p. 396.


Adigard des Gautries, p. 85.


The obstacle thesis (Forêt charbonnière and 'limes
belgicus') as well as the 'line of retreat' theory are shown to be less than satisfactory in explaining the position of the linguistic frontier.

II. Germanic Elements in French Place Names

A. Germanic Complement and Romance/Gallo-Roman Determinative

In order to analyse the extent and meaning of Germanic influence, and particularly of settlement, in Gallia Romana only "lieux habités" will be examined. There exist numerous methods of arrangement from Longnon's ethnic classifications according to tribal affiliation ("origine saxonne, origine burgonde") to those of Charles Rostaing and Paul Lévy which are more of a linguistic nature classing toponyms after their formation (i.e.: "dérivés d'anthroponymes" or "appellatifs") and finally to Vincent's thematic categories ("la nature, l'homme"). The following, uncomplicated approach appears to best suit the heterogeneous stock of Germanic toponyms. These comprehensive classifications will be employed in this study: a) Germanic complement and Romance/Gallo-Roman determinative, b) Germanic complement and Germanic determinative, c) Germanic simple names, d) Germano-Romance place-names composed of 3 elements. In addition, smaller divisions will be encountered under these global titles as circumstances require. The actual examination is meant both to delve into the 'problems', the many often contradictory hypotheses regarding origin and evolution, and to say something about the significance to French history and toponymy. This can be achieved by referring to what has been stated by various specialists, discussing certain illustrative toponyms and by a consideration of maps detailing the geographical distribution of particular place-name types.
It is appropriate to start this study with the largest of all the categories in terms of the specimens available, that is, those hybrid formations with a Germanic stem and a Romance ending. One should scarcely be surprised that this group is the most numerically strong because the Germans, though conquerors, settled a land whose population remained largely Gallo-Roman. Paul Lévy refers to the extremely high incidence of such "cross-bred" names in these terms: "Ils sont aussi extrêmement répandus; dans quelques parties de la France, ils forment la base de toute la toponymie". In general the type of place-names which appertain to this category combine a Germanic personal name with a Romance/Gallo-Roman ending, either an appellative or a suffix. In view of the great variety of anthroponyms it is expedient to arrange the names after their endings. The following Romance/Gallo-Roman endings figure prominently in these composite formations: the appellatives cortis, villa; the Gallo-Roman flexion -(i)acum; as well as an extended series of rather less frequent Romance appellatives such as boscus, campus, fossa, exsartum, fons, vallis, vadum, mansus, etc. As the -(i)acum toponyms are both frequent and quite ancient in terms of the Teutonic occupation of Gallia, let us examine them first.

Most specialists agree that the names formed from a Germanic anthroponym and -(i)acum or its feminine plural counterpart -iacas, date from the earliest period of the Germanic invasions. Dauzat takes them back to the 5th century. The logical explanation for this hybridisation is that the German settlers were too few in the early stages of the occupation to force their idiom on the natives. Thus these names are testimonials to the
marriage of two rival cultures. These hybrid, derived place-names occur, not surprisingly, principally in the north and northeastern portions of France where Germanic settlement is known to have been the most concentrated. Longnon affirms that the -(i)acum names are found especially in the regions colonised by the Franks: "...ils paraissent surtout dans les pays colonisés par les Francs soit en Belgique ou dans la France du nord-est." Despite these affirmations it is hazardous to attempt to establish the extent of colonisation by means of the geographical distribution of certain place-name types alone, due to the widespread adoption of Germanic personal names by the indigenous population at a later date. But it affords a fairly good indication of the degree of Germanic settlement, when coordinated with archeological or other historical evidence. Certain historical problems oblige the researcher to set himself realistic goals.

The original form of the prolific -(i)acum suffix was the Gallic -acum, which, after the Roman conquest, was employed in toponyms with various Latin patronymics in -ius, i.e.: Pauli(us) + -acum = Pauliacum. Due to the abundant use of patronymics in such toponyms the Germans, ignorant of Latin accidence, simply tacked the -i- onto the ending to create a new form -(i)acum. Then through time and due to the influence of the regional forms of speech -acum/- (i)acum have undergone phonetic transformations which have also become fixed in the orthography. For example in much of the "langue d'oil" territory -acum becomes -ay whilst in the zone of the "langue d'oc" it becomes -ac or -at. Vincent points out that, with time, the phonetic variations stabilised along regional lines in more or less standard "graphies": "L'évaluation
de ce suffixe a donné des terminaisons assez diverses, dont la graphie a eu une tendance à s'uniformiser régionalement..."212

To illustrate this type of toponym certain names representative of the different forms of -acum/-acum have been culled from an extensive list of some 289 such names compiled principally from a survey of Dauzat and Rostaing's *Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France*. It should be noted that the information on the Germanic anthroponyms has been verified in Marie-Thérèse Morlet's *Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule*. Where the documented form(s) given are not in Morlet's work this is indicated in parentheses. The examples cited are not merely listed but are complemented by additional etymological information to explain the original composition, early forms where documented, and the locations expressed in terms of "départements". A map demonstrating the general geographical distribution of this place-name type throughout France offers a means of ascertaining relative density at a glance.

Beginning with the -acum examples, one finds Germanic anthroponyms combined with these regional variants: -acum >-ai(s)/-ay, forms peculiar to "langue d'oïl" territory; -acum >-ach, the germanised form of Alsace and French Flanders; -acum >-é, a form found mainly north of the Loire; -acum >-ac/-at, the only truly southern forms occurring through most of southern France. Since this study is concerned foremost with the Germanic element the place-names have been listed alphabetically after the appropriate anthroponym. Assuin (a form of Ansuinus p. 39 Morlet; from ans- "divinité païenne, idole" and wini- "ami"): **Assenay** (Aube) Ascenaium 1152-80; Athana (not in Morlet): **Ainay-le-Vieil** (Cher)
Athanaco Vth (c.) Audesid (Audesindus p. 44; from aud- "richesse, prospérité" and sind- "chemin, voyage"): Auxais (Manche) no early form(s). Baro (prob. a hypocoristic form of ber- p. 53): Bayac (Saône et Loire)* Baronacum (hypothetical reconstruction); Haribod (not in Morlet; but hari- "épée" and bod- "messager"): Harboué (Meurthe et Moselle) Harbouey 1245, Herboye XIIIth c.; Maurinus 213 (from Latino-Germanic hybrid root maur- p. 168): Moernach (Haut Rhin) de Muornache 1230; Munderin (not in Morlet; mund- "protection" p. 170): Montenach (Moselle) Mondelar XIth perhaps Mund- + -lar, "clearing", Mondern 1403, Mondernacken 1407; Salisa (prob. derived from sal- "maison" p. 194): Saussignac: (Dordogne) Saussignac 1053; Suabo (Swabo or Suavo from svaba- "le peuple souabe" p. 204); Zuofques (Pas de C) Suavekes c. 1115, Suavaca 1200, Swaveque 1434, Zouafque 1698; Valdin (Waldinus p. 214; from Wald- "gouverner, commander"): Vadenary (Marne) Vaudenis villa c. 1066.

With -(i)acum the suffix created and most extensively used by the Germans, there are a number of alternate "graphies" dependent upon the region: -(i)acum> -é, this suffix occurs especially in Poitou and Saintonge (Longnon, p. 85 §279); -(i)acum -i/-y, frequently found in the north and northwest; -(i)acum> -ey, encountered in the northeastern provinces of Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy and parts of Champagne, 214 -(i)acum> -ac, as with -acum, this transformation occurs in the south; -(i)acum > -ieu(x), found in the areas along the Rhône especially in the départements Loire, Rhône, Ain, Haute Savoie, Isère and Savoie (Vincent, p. 71 §177). Once again the examples are listed after the Germanic personal name: Betto (p. 57; from bert- "illustre,
brillant"):: Betheny (Marne) Beteneium XIth c.; Buni (Buno p. 62; from bu/bun- "habiter"):: Bignac (Charente) de Bugnaco 1293; Frizzo (prob. a hypocoristic form of fris- "le peuple frise" p. 94); Froissy (Oise) Friissiacum 1130; Salumar (doubtless derived from the root sal- "maison" p. 194); Sermérieu (Isère) Salmaireu XIIIth c.; Saint/Suwendi (Swind- "fort, puissant", p. 205); Souancé (Eure et Loire) Sucenci C. 1128, Suentheium 1141; Toarwart (not listed in Morlet; prob. a combination of thiot-/deod- "peuple" and ward- "gardien"): Thouarcé (Maine et Loire) Toarciacus XIth C.; Warin (Warinus, p. 219; from wara- "protection"): Varney (Meuse) Varney 1289; Watili (prob. Wazili p. 212; from wad- "gage, engagement"): Vatilieu (Isère) de Vatilevo XIth C., de Vatiliaco XIIIth C. It is worth listing a few other "graphies" which occur rather rarely both in a general sense and particularly in combination with Germanic anthroponyms: -acum / -et = Bézenet (Allier) from Bisenus (from Biso p. 57); -(i)acum > -ier/-er = Scientrier (Haute Savoie) from Sinthar (Sindharius p. 201; sind- "voyage, chemin" and hari- "épée"); Mésanger (Loire Atlantique) from Maso.

A feminine plural form -iacas occurs in a very restricted geographical area, namely, in the province of Picardy. The toponyms occur under the forms -ies, or more seldom, -ée: Agnelée (Nord) no early forms, from Allo (p. 28; ala- "tout"); Ramousies (Nord) Ramulgeias 965, from Ramold (Ramoldus p. 135; hram- "corbeau" and ald- "vieux").

Finally, if one consults the map of geographical distribution of -acum/ -(i)acum (v. fig. 1 "The names in -acum/- (i)acum") it is interesting to note that the largest concentrations occur
north and east of the Loire roughly corresponding to the known areas of Teutonic occupation and influence. Moreover the point of maximum density falls into the north-western edge of the map embracing the départements Pas de Calais, Nord and Aisne. This accords generally with the inset map of the distribution of -iacum names furnished by Charles Rostaing in his Noms de lieux. Also one remarks the sizeable number of such place-name specimens which occur within the confines of the ancient kingdoms of Burgundy (outlined clearly on the map) which agrees to some extent at least with the research of T. Perrenot on the toponymy of Burgundy who stated: "Ce mode de formation semble avoir pris beaucoup d'extension dans l'ancienne Burgondie" (La toponymie burgonde, p. 251). This holds true principally for the northern and middle portions of the vast territory then under Burgundian rule (till 534 AD.). However, in view of the total number of toponyms recorded this claim seems to have been somewhat exaggerated. Out of 289 toponyms 50, that is but .43 x 1000 km² in relation to the huge area of 114,509 km², are actually included in the bounds of ancient Burgundy whilst in the smaller zone formed by the north-western départements Aisne, Nord and Pas de Calais there are 73 names in an area of 19,755 km² or 3.7 x 1000 km², obviously a considerably greater density. These are just a few observations that one could make on the basis of the data provided by the map.

There are some other Romance and Gallo-Roman 'formatives which combine with Germanic elements, especially with personal names. These have a much more restricted usage than that enjoyed by -(i)acum. It will suffice to list them and to provide some
Fig 1: The names in ~acum|~d|acum: 289 names total

Legend:
- 5-9 names: :::::
- 10-19: ///
- 20+: #
- # # # # # # bounds of ancient Burgundy
appropriate toponyms to illustrate their usage: *ialo, this Gallic suffix is sometimes regarded as a substantive (v. Vincent p. 92 §212): Baneuil (Dordogne) -Banno + ialo; -(i)onem: Baon (Yonne) -Bado + -onem; -anum: Baudignan (Landes) Baldin + -anum; -inum: Berthen (Nord) Bertó + -inum; -ensem: Berthez (Gironde) Bertó + -ensem; -aria: Guitinières (Char. Mar.) Wittin + -aria; -etum: Houssay (Loire et Cher) hulis "houx" + -etum; -iscum: Jaudrais (Eure et Loire) Gauthar + -iscum; -onis: Malbouzon (Lozère) Malbodo + -onis; -oscum: Onoz (Jura) Hago + -oscum; -osum: Rampoux (Lot) rampa "croc, griffe" + -osum; and finally Gallic -avum: Vanault -le -Châtel (Marne) Wango + -one + -avum. This list makes no claim to completeness but it does provide one with a brief overview of some of the less widely used Latin/Gallo-Roman suffixes which may be found united with Germanic elements.
FOOTNOTES

A. Germanic Complement and Romance/Gallo-Roman Determinative

207 As the abbé Nègre declares: "Il est intéressant de voir les divers degrés de l'influence germanique sur la toponymie, suivant les régions et suivant les différentes catégories de noms de lieux." Les noms de lieux en France, p. 96

208 Paul Lévy, La Langue Allemande en France, p. 22.

209 Dauzat, p. 114.

210 Longnon, p. 89 §248.

211 Paul Lebel ascribes this creation to the Germans' misunderstanding of Latin (p. 53). However, Vincent believes that -iacum had been employed as a toponymic ending already in Roman times: "Enfin, il est probable que l'on a employé dès l'époque romaine au lieu de -acus, un suffixe -iacus dégagé des nombreux noms de lieux où l'i appartenait au gentilice." p. 70 §175.

212 Vincent, p. 71 §177.

213 Gröhler, p. 336.

214 Vincent limits their southward extent to the départements Doubs, Jura, and eastern Saône et Loire (p. 71 §177). The research undertaken for the distribution map supports both the view of Longnon and of Vincent. Longnon, p. 85 §277.

215 Rostaing, p. 65.

216 Gysseling, p. 5.
B. Germanic Complement and Germanic Determinative

Let us pass onto the compound names formed by the union of an anthroponym with an appellative. There is quite a number but this study will first consider the ancient and widely employed Latin settlement name -cortis. This progression from derivational to compound place-names corresponds to the general tendencies of toponymic formation itself as M. Gysseling observed: "Een van de groote tendensen in de geschiedenis van de plaatsnamen in onze gewesteri is dat man geleidelijk overgaat van afleidingen naar samenstellingen". As these linguistic changes were taking place, the derivative -acum was gradually superseded in toponymic formations by -cortis (Gröhler, p. 29). The appellative -cortis or -curtis derives from the classical Latin cohors, cohortis and its meaning evolved from the 'courtyard of a farm' to 'rural domain' by the time of the Merovinian dynasty. By a "pars para toto" extension -cortis eventually signified not only the farm itself but all the surrounding habitations and so became a synonym for 'village'. It is in this latter sense that -cortis figures in a large number of French toponyms north of the Loire.

Several different, sometimes conflicting, hypotheses attempt to explain the significance of these Germano-Romance toponyms to French history and toponymy. According to Longnon the Germans preferred -cortis to -villa which would seem to account for the rather restricted distribution of such names to areas generally
held to have received the strongest Germanic influence. Thus he tends to view such names as gauges of both the degree of Germanic influence on Gallia Romana and their settlement. In this way Longnon tries to establish a parallel between the incidence of -cortis names in Maine and archaeological evidence to prove the existence of an "ilot de population germanique" (p. 226 §927). Both he and Albert Dauzat ascribed such formations to the theory that German landlords lent their names to their new farms or estates ("Herrensiedlungstheorie"). Petri tends to view the -court, -villa type names not so much as evidence of Germanic colonisation as of later medieval rural expansion and the expanding Germanic influence on the language of the inhabitants of northern Gallia ". . . ich habe mich entschieden..., daß die französischen Namen in erster Linie als Zeugnisse frühmittelalterlicher Ausbausiedlung sind, in denen zwar der fränkische Spracheinfluß besonders sinnfällig in Erscheinung tritt und die deshalb eines der wichtigsten sprachlichen Zeugnisse dafür bilden wie weitgehend germanische Sprachgewohnheiten damals auch bei den romanischen Massen Eingang gefunden hatten..." 218

Unlike Longnon, Petri does not attempt to demonstrate any parallel between geographical distribution of these "Weilernamen", settlement names, and the elusive phenomenon of the Germanic "Landnahme" in Gallia. Furthermore in his Volkserbe Petri refutes both the Gröber-Schiber theory that -villa and -court were characteristic of Germanic "Herrensiedlung" (cf. Dauzat, Longnon), mere reflections of the settlement of German agricultural overlords, and the untenable notion that the manner of formation is essentially Germanic. He maintains that this is false since the
majority of the population was Gallo-Roman and that they were necessarily responsible for the creation of these names. The creation was due rather to the changed linguistic situation, the change in popular speech from Latin to French which Walther v. Wartburg described thus: "Französisch ist also eine durch die Franken und in ihrem Munde geschaffenen Sonderform des Romanischen". Equally circumspect towards the complex question of the significance of the -court, -villa names are Charles Rostaing and Ferdinand Lot. Indeed the latter scholar in his insightful, systematic treatment of these names elaborates on the danger of employing them as a medium for advancing theories on settlement: "Il est donc plus sage de renoncer à tirer des noms de localités en -cour et -ville rien de "précieux", quoiqu'on dise, sur la distribution des races sur notre sol". Instead he, like Rostaing in Les noms de lieux, holds that the autochthonous inhabitants created these place-names utilising Germanic personal names which were either those of foreign overlords or more likely of Gallo-Romans who had adopted such names: "L'explication, qui évite cette difficulté, c'est que la formation nouvelle en -ville et en -cour est le fait des populations romanes elles-mêmes. Ces mots ayant pris le sens de 'domaine' les paysans les accolent au nom de leur seigneur et propriétaire. Et si ce nom est le plus souvent germanique c'est parce que, depuis la seconde moitié du VIe siècle, la mode a été aux noms de personnes germaniques". This certainly appears to be the most cogent and persuasive of the theories outlined. Whatever the truth may be as to the basis of the creation of the
-cortis names they merit attention since they offer a large source of partially Germanic toponyms and an astonishingly restricted zone of geographical distribution.

Although toponymic research tends to group the -villa, -cortis names together because of convenience and because they are both habitative names which occur frequently with Germanic anthroponyms, this study will analyse them separately in order to provide a more distinct, detailed view both concerning the theories on origin and evolution and the toponymic examples peculiar to each type. One should note that two systems of syntactical composition characterised the settlement names. The most common composition follows the model anthroponym + -cortis whilst the other system places the determinative before the complement, i.e.: cortis + anthroponym. Both methods of composition will be discussed and illustrated by appropriate toponyms.

The first group of -cortis toponyms to be examined will be those exhibiting the complement + determinative syntax. Undeniably these represent the numerically strongest group. Moreover research has shown that such formations are more ancient than those in which cortis precedes the determinative. Longnon espouses the "two current theory" which divides the cortis type names into a Germanic and a Romance current according to the word order. But the issue of syntax is much more complex. Toponymists do not appear able to agree as to the significance of this syntax of such a Germanic aspect. The Germanic word-order is thought by Longnon to stem from the "Herrensiedlung" and the influence of the Teutonic idiom. Still others feel that this non-Romance syntax might be a continuation of a Gallic method of formation.
Though Petri and Lot both attack the "Herrensiedlung" theory as untenable because it is impossible to prove that the Germanic anthroponyms were given by the Barbarians or the natives, the limited distribution (to the zone of former Frankish dominion), the frequency of combination with Germanic anthroponyms and the relative antiquity of these names do suggest some Germanic influence.

The following toponyms exemplify the formation complement + determinative. They are found mainly in the north and northeast from the Seine to the frontiers of France. Most names seem to be concentrated in the Artois-Picardy and Lorraine areas. Concerning the construction of this place-name type it should be noted that the Germanic anthroponym is declined with the Romance "cas oblique" ending -one. There is a large number of different anthroponyms employed in these combinations but there is but one orthographic form of -cortis viz. -court. All examples have been arranged after the original form of the Germanic anthroponym in each case: Adda (p. 19 from adal- "noble" Morlet): Adaincourt (Moselle) Daincourt 1316, Adeincourt 1421; Bertald (Bertaldus p. 56, from bert- "illustre, brillant" and ald- "vieux"): La Bertancourt (Meuse) Bertaldo curtis 754, Bertancourt 1271, Bertancourt 1745; Dagino (Daginus p. 64; from daq- "jour"): Dancourt (Seine Mar.) Daencourt 1135 (Somme); Ebbo (p. 78; a hypocoristic form of ebur- "sanglier"): Ippécourt (Meuse) Eppone curte 709, Espeia curtis 1049, Epeicurt 1141; Guma (Gommo p. 116; guma- "homme"): Gomécourt (Pas de Calais) Gumincurz 1104, Gummecurt 1135; Gundo (p. 118; from gund- "lutte, combat"): 
Contescourt (Aisne) Gundescourt 1123; Huno (p. 140; from hun- "force"); Noncourt (Vosges) de Hunocurta c. 1107; Olfred (probably Altfridus p. 30; from ald- "vieux" and frid- "paix"): Offroicourt (Vosges) de Olfredocurte c. 950; Romulf (Romolf p. 191; from rum- "gloire" and wulf- "loup"): Remoncourt (Meurthe et Moselle) Remuncort 1162, (Vosges) Romulficurt Xth c.; Wandelin (Wandelinus p. 217; from wand-/wandel- "changer"): Vandelicourt (Oise) Baldane cortis 693 Balda was replaced by Wandelin.

All these examples conform to the Germanic schema (cf. anthroponym + determinative = Albersdorf, Schleswig-Holstein) which tempts one to attribute their creation to a German influence. However, as has already been noted a superficial judgement unsupported by historical evidence is hazardous since -cortis as a toponymic element has been continuously employed from the Roman period. Furthermore the great syntactical flexibility of Latin is expressed too in the composition of place-names thus enabling the co-existence of the two systems of formation: -cortis, cortis-. This fact complicates further the task of ascertaining the origin and significance of these names.

Unlike the toponyms exhibiting the pseudo-Germanic composition those in which the determinative cortis- precedes the complement do not present a problem since they are almost unanimously regarded as purely Romance creations. These are viewed as continuing the employment of -cortis in the same manner as that prior to the Teutonic invasions except that the Romance anthroponyms are gradually replaced by Germanic ones. The abbé Nègre confirms the unequivocal view held by many specialists on this mode of formation and he explains its evolution thus: "A leur sujet tout
le monde est d'accord: ils sont l'oeuvre d'une population romane. Il est probable que celle-ci n'avait jamais cessé de créer des noms de lieux à la manière romane, d'abord avec des noms de personne romains, puis avec des noms germaniques..."228 Though the toponyms cited below all contain a Germanic personal name, the appearance is much more Romance: "...d'aspect moins Germanique et plus conforme à l'esprit de la langue française"229

The age of such toponyms combined with Germanic anthroponyms is generally judged to be considerably more recent than those displaying the "Germanic" syntax. Whereas the apogée of the -cortis names with a Germanic aspect was between the VIIth and VIIIth centuries,230 those of a characteristic Romance appearance flourished beginning in the VIIIth century and reaching the peak of their popularity in the IXth century. Interestingly the commencement of this popularity coincides with the achievement of domination by the Germanic onomastic nomenclature in Gallia Romana: "Au VIIIème siècle enfin, la nouvelle mode l'a emporté partout en Gaule."231

The geographical distribution of the names with the Romance composition differs substantially from that of the previous kind. Rather than being concentrated in the northwest and northeast of France, these toponyms are strongly represented in central Champagne, parts of Burgundy and the Jura region.232 Another point of divergence between the two methods of composition consists of various orthographic forms which -cortis may take: court- or curt-, the former is by far the most common form whilst the latter occurs primarily in the département Ain, cour-, cor-, co-, con- and com-. Here are some examples of hybrid toponyms containing
-cortis in the first position: Acco (p. 22; from ag- "tranchant de l'épée"): Courtacon (seine et Marne) also Courtecon (Aisne) Curtecon 1136; Bertold (Berataldus p. 56; from bert- "illustre, brillant" and ald- "vieux"): Courbettaux (Marne) curia Bertodi c. 1159; Bertrich (Bertricus p. 56; from bert id. and ric- "puissant"): Compertrix (Marne) Bertrici cortis 1028, de Courbertreio 1262; Francio (p. 92; from franc- "le peuple franc"): Confrançon (ain) curte Francione 997-1031; Frido (p. 94; from frid- "paix"): Curtafond (Ain) in villa Corte fredone 923-927, Cortefont 1249; Hago (Haco p. 120; from hag- "doture, maison"): Cohan (Aisne) Corhaon XIIth c., Cohaum 1174; Haimon (doubtless a hypocoristic form of haim- "maison, demeure" p. 121): Cortémont (Marne) Corteisius mons 1131-42, Curteimont 1180, cortoymont 1244; Lando (p. 157; from land- "terre, pays"): Coulandon (Allier) Courlandon (Marne) curtis Landonis 1146; Otmund (probably Odalmunt p. 175; from odal- "pays, patrie" and munt- "protection"): Courtaumont (Marne) curtis otmundi c. 850, Cortosmont 1209; Ricbert (Rigobertus p. 188; from ric- "puissant" and bert- "illustre, brilliant"): Corribert (Marne) curtis Riberti 1147-1151.

It is quite revealing to consider the geographical distribution of the cortis names both of the Romance and Germanic formations according to the maps compiled for this analysis (v. fig. 2 "names in -court"; fig. 3. "names beginning with cortis- "). Considering first the names with Germanic syntax we find a solid belt of specimens, at least 10 per département, which stretches from the English Channel in the west to Alsace and the Vosges in the east. The greatest part of the 481 specimens are
located north of the Seine. Indeed the compactness exhibited in this distribution is quite striking because such regularity is rarely found in toponymy. In this thick belt one discovers the zones of greatest density: Somme \(9.7 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2\), Meuse \(7.9 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2\), Haute Marne \(6.8 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2\), Meurthe et Moselle \(6.5 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2\). The distribution figures provided on the map (fig. 2) accord 'grosso modo' with the distribution furnished by Dauzat, Rostaing and Longnon who all give Lorraine (i.e.: Moselle, Meuse, Meurthe et Moselle, Vosges) as the province in which the highest concentration of such names occur. A look at the comparative distribution figures provided by Rostaing, Petri and myself, demonstrates that, generally, whilst the individual figures vary, the ranks of the départements in terms of the degree of concentration remain constant. With regard to the distribution of those toponyms in which cortis- is the initial element it is remarkable at the outset that the areas in which the first category were particularly abundant are devoid of names of the Romance formation. Neither the northwest nor the northeast offer any such specimens. Both formations occur north of the Loire, traditionally the limit of Germanic influence. Only Dauzat offers details on the distribution of this formation. He cites the central portion of Champagne, part of Burgundy and the southern Bernese Jura as the zones of the highest incidence (p. 138). This information corresponds well to the map (fig. 3) resulting from this research study: central Champagne (approx. Aisne, Marne, Seine-et-Marne, Aube) contains 27 or \(1.0 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2\); Burgundy and the Franche Comté (ie: Haute Marne, Cote d'or, Haute Saône, Doubs) contain 21 or \(.84 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2\); and in the French Jura area
Fig 2. Names in court (~cortis)
(ie: Jura, Ain) there are a mere 7 or \(0.63 \times 1000\) km\(^2\). To gain an idea of the proportionate significance of these figures, one must relate them to a total of some 91 names of this composition. The maximum density focuses on the département of Côte d'Or in Burgundy which has 12 names or \(1.4 \times 1000\) km\(^2\).

Another Latin appellative which figures prominently in this category is \textit{-villa} accompanied by its younger derivative \textit{-villare}. Like the previous habitative name, \textit{villa} was first employed in toponymy under the Roman Empire, but the height of its popularity was only attained during the Frankish period. Following the Germanic invasions in the 5th century \textit{-villa} began to occur combined with Germanic personal names principally in northern Gallia where Frankish/German influence was most intense. Such compound toponyms offer another example of cultural and linguistic symbiosis. The semantic evolution of \textit{-villa} from the classical Latin to the Frankish period and High Middle Ages sheds light both on its historical linguistic development and on its usage in toponymy. In its classical sense it referred to the estate of a landowner together with its surrounding dependent buildings or as Lewis and Short's \textit{A Latin Dictionary} puts it: "a country house, country seat". Longnon and Vincent agree substantially with this definition: the former explains that \textit{villa} meant "une maison de campagne" in the classical period which somewhat later, through an extension, came to signify "domaine rural"; whilst the latter attributes two senses to its classical usage: "habitation du maître du domaine" or simply "domaine". However, the villas grew into rural agglomerations by the time of the 'grandes invasions' or the High Middle Ages and their meaning
became the equivalent of "village". Thus the sense of villa was synonymous with that of cortis. A.E. Verhulst, respected Flemish philologist, was convinced of the synonymous usage of these two Latin appellatives in early medieval toponymy of Gallia Romana: "In andere gevallen echter wordt villa gebruikt als synoniem van curtis, in het bijzonder wanneer de curtis het gehele dorp met zijn landerijen omvatte...". In its extended meaning villa was widely used after the "Landnahme" to designate the domains or rural properties which had been recently pioneered. The popularity was so great that it gradually supplanted some other toponymic elements such as the derivative -acum which had hitherto been frequently used: "C'est vers la fin du Ve siècle, après une période d'anarchie et d'invasion que les composés en -villa remplacèrent les dérivés en -acum pour nommer les nouveaux domaines".

Villare is a vulgar Latin appellative which derives from villa and signifies a sort of sub-division of the larger rural domain. Dissimilar to its parent noun, villare has not been attested in the Roman period and therefore appears to be a purely medieval creation. Since it indicates only a portion of the agglomeration of the villa, its sense is restricted to "hameau". In combination with Germanic anthroponyms both villa and villare were productive in French toponymy till the IXth century and, in some areas, as late as the Xth century (Verhulst, p. 37). Although villare is definitely a Romance creation, it acquired such an acceptance amongst the neighbouring German speaking peoples that it became part of their idiom as the common noun "-weiler", especially frequent in West Rhenish toponyms. More specifically, Longnon
explains that the Alemanni, a Germanic tribe settled in northeast Gallia, adopted the term as their own: "Le mot villare a été adopté par les Alamans, l'une des nations germaniques qui, par raison de voisinage, ont été le plus directement en contact avec les populations romaines..." So villare unlike the older villa or even cortis was incorporated as part of the toponymic nomenclature of both ethnic groups appearing widely distributed on both sides of the linguistic frontier.

Concerning distribution villa and villare are thought to be less helpful in resolving the problem of Germanic settlement of Gallia than cortis because they continued in use till the Xth century whilst the latter had already fallen into disuse by the VIIIth. Longnon therefore regards the toponyms formed with -cortis to be better gauges of the extent of settlement: "D'autre part, le mot villa ayant formé des noms de lieu, dès le haut moyen âge, dans les diverses régions de la France, on ne saurait tirer de ces noms les renseignements précieux que fournissent, touchant la distribution des races sur notre sol, les noms de lieu dans la forme primitive desquels entre le mot cortis. This is, however, not the case with the ville names of Normandy which are numerous and are often combined with Scandinavian rather than Frankish anthroponyms. Those examples in which the composition is Scandinavian anthroponyms offer evidence of the racial character of either the inhabitants or the landlord since Gallo-Romans and Franks did not adopt Norse personal names. The bulk of the villa and villare names occur in the zone north of the Loire. On account of the high concentration of villa toponyms in Lorraine, Artois-Picardie and Beauce region around Paris, Rostaing
declares that they offer "une aire francique". But of course they abound too in the coastal départements of Normandy. Villare is concentrated heavily in the three northeastern départements which straddle the linguistic border: Moselle, Bas Rhin and Haut Rhin.

In formation villa and villare follow cortis, uniting with a Germanic anthroponym which is usually in the "cas oblique". Moreover, they exhibit either the Romance or the Germanic system of composition. The place-names in which the determinatives form the second element are indisputably the most numerous. Certainly the vogue for the Romance type of formation, determinative + complement, is the more recent, having begun c. 800 A.D.

Place-names of the type Frankish or non-Scandinavian personal name + villa are located largely in Lorraine, Champagne and Ile-de-France. The following examples have been selected from these regions to illustrate this formation. Throughout France the "graphic" ville is common but sometimes velle, peculiar to Champagne and the Franche Comté, may be found. They are organised according to the Germanic elements involved: Abbewin (Abevinus p. 13; from abb- "homme" and wini- "ami"): Abainville (Meuse) Abunivilla 1151, Abienville 1318; Bisuini (obscure, probably from hypocoristic Biso-a derivative bid- "attendre, espérer" and wini "ami" p. 57): Besinvelle (Hte Saône) Bisuille 1150, Besinvelle 1160, Bisi villa 1179, Besiuvelle 1212: Leobod (Leotbodus p. 159; leut- "peuple" and bod- "messager"): Lebeuville (Meurthe et Moselle) Leutbodi villa 957, Liebodis villa 1218, Lybeuville 1291, Thillo (not listed in Morlet but probably derived from dil-/til- "bon, brave" p. 66) Glonville (Meurthe et Moselle) Dyllonville 1295,
Genneville (Calvados) Guinequeville 1215, Gennevilla 1257. In the following toponyms the personal names are recognised as being of Norse origin. Almost all such names occur in Normandy. (Note: Thérèse Morlet's onomasticon does not cover Scandinavian anthroponyms): Aka: Acqueville (Calvados) Achevilla 1190, (Manche); Helgi: Herqueville (Manche) Helgevilla 1156-72; Malti: Motteville (Seine-Maritime) Maltevilla 1059; Thor: Tourville (Manche) Turvilla 1112, (Seine Mar), (Eure); Thorketill: Teurthevilla-Bocage (Manche) Torquetevilla 1180-2, Theurteville-Hague (Manche) Torquetevilla 1221. This example too combines with a recognisably non-Frankish anthroponym and villa: it is a name of Visigothic origin and occurs in an area historically viewed as one influenced by the Visigoths: Leud-hari^Leutharius p. 160; from leut- "peuple" and hari- "épée"): Lauzerville (Hte Garonne) no early forms listed.

These names illustrate a more Romance aspect viz. where the appellative villa precedes the complement. Although this formation has been documented in the Roman period (ie: Villeur-banne (Rhône)247 it fell into disuse during the first centuries after the invasions only to re-emerge, usually combined with an anthroponym, between the VIIIth and Xth centuries.248 This specimen from the Franche Comté exhibits the alternate "graphie" -velle peculiar to the region: Manfred (Manfridus p. 93; from man- "homme" and frid- "paix"): Velleminfroy (H. Saône) villani Manfredi 815. In addition to the toponyms combined with Germanic anthroponyms one encounters some in which the complement refers to a specific German tribe. These serve as useful indicators of
the presence of such ethnic groups on the soil of Gallia, for as Rostaing noted: "Il est curieux de constater que ces établisse-
ments se trouvent dans le territoire occupé par le peuple qu'ils désignent." Here are two examples, the first referring to the Franks, the latter to the Goths: Villefrançoise (Loire et Cher) villam Francori Xth c.; Villegoudou (Tarn) villa qotor 1176.

The early medieval settlement name villare, "domaine de seconde importance", also enjoyed great popularity especially in the north and northeast of Gallia. Indeed its popularity amongst the Germans was such that they assimilated it into their idiom. But it underwent some substantial phonological changes which vary according to region. The original Vulgar Latin villare/villaris commonly occurs as villier(s) or viller(s) in the north, weiler, willer or wihr in the Germanophone east, and villar, villard, villars, in the central and southern regions. Though villare is spread throughout France, it is almost exclusively found in the north when it is combined with a Germanic anthroponym: "Ce n'est que dans la moitié nord de la France que ce mot entre en composition avec des noms de possesseurs..." Ernest Nègre states that the zone of incidence of -villare names combined with Germanic personal names corresponds roughly to that of the -court names. In these compound toponyms the anthroponyms always occur in the "cas oblique" except in the Germanised areas where it is replaced by the strong Germanic genitive in -s. To demonstrate the various "graphies" which -villare may take according to region, the following specimens have been selected. Once again the primitive forms of the anthroponyms have been cross-checked with Morlet's data: Adalbehr (Adalbertus p. 15; from adal-
"descendance, race noble" and bert- "illustre, brillant"):
Aubervilliers (Seine) Albertivillare 1059, (S. et M.) Haubertviller 1347; Bono (obscure either Latin bonus or Norse bon- "prière, requête"; Morlet favours the former p. 60) Bonviller (Moselle) Boinviller 1251, Bonvillers (M. et M.) Bonviller 1269; Botthar (Boetharius p. 59; from bod- "messager" and hari- "épée"):
Boutervilliers (S. et O.); Calo (Chaldo(?) p. 151; from cald- "froid"): Chalonnvillas (Hte Saône) villa Calonis c. 610.
Chalunviler 1178; Haribehrt (Haribertus p. 125; hari- "épée" and bert- "illustre, brillant"): Heirbeviller (M. et M.) Heirbeviller 1314; Meginwulf (Meginulf p. 166; from magan- "force, puissance" and wulf- "loup"): Mignovillard (Jura). The forms -willer, -weiler, -wiihr are limited to the heavily Germanised regions of the northeast, Alsace and Lorraine. The popularity of villare amongst the Alemanni which Longnon stressed is supported by the large number of examples in these Germanised "graphies" located in the lands historically colonised by this tribe.
Whilst willer/weiler occur principally in the départements Haut Rhin, Bas Rhin and Moselle -wiihr is characteristic of Haut Rhin alone. These toponyms illustrate the characteristically Germanic "graphies": Fulcrad (Fulcradus p. 95; from fulc- "peuple" and rad- "avis, conseil"): Fortschwir (Haut Rhin) Fulradivillare 854; Gunzo (probably a hypocoristic form from gund- "lutte, combat"): Guntzwiller (Moselle) Guntzweiller 1779; Hartmann (Hartmannus p. 123; from hart- "rude, dur, intrépide" and man- "homme"): Hartmannswiller (Haut Rhin) Hartmannswiler 1200; Huno (p. 141; from hun- "ours"): Hunawiihr (Haut Rhin) Hunniville 1114, Unegvilre 1123, Hunnenwihr 1291; Macco (p. 165; derived from mag- "parent"):
Mackwiller (Bas Rhin) villare Macchone 712; Marc (adjective derived from marc "frontière, province" p. 167): Merschwiller (Moselle) Merssweiller 1594, Merckveiler 1681.

Like cortis and villa, villare exhibits both what Longnon termed the "Germanic" and the "Romance" currents, 252 that is: the syntax, complement + determinative, which supposedly arose due to Germanic influence or the reverse order, determinative + complement, which is definitely more Romance both in appearance and character. Such names are quite well dispersed throughout Gallia (France). The toponyms cited below show this Romance syntax under the regional "graphies" viller(s), villier(s), villar(s), villard, willer(weiler): Ambert (Ambertus p. 33; first element is obscure, and bert- "illustre, brillant"): Villarembert (Savoie) de Amberto 739, de villario Raimberti 1184; Erfold (Erfolt p. 41; from arbi- "héritage" and the second element is probably bol- "ami, frère"): Villiersfaut (Loire-et-Cher) Villerfaux 1330; Gerard (Garardus p. 103; from gar- "prêt" and hard- "rude, dur, intrépide"): Villargerel(Savoie) Villagerardi c. 1170, Villargerardi 1183; Saxo (Saxo p. 194; from sahs- "se rattache au nom de peuple: les Saxons"): Villarsecel (Hte Saône) Villersascel 1282; Wald (derived from appellative wald- "forest"): Willerwald (Moselle) villerwaldt 1751. The final example is the only one available in which the Germanised form willer(weiler) precedes the complement. Such a syntax is naturally rare in German-speaking territory.

The map plotting the distribution of the place-names of the type, Germanic anthroponym + -villa, shows clearly that the vast majority of the names are located north of the Loire (v. fig 4
Fig. 4  Names in-ville 1

Legend:
5-9 names
10-49
20+

621 names total
"names in -ville"). Of the 621 such toponyms collected, only c. 31 lie south of this river in Aquitaine. They occur in the lands relatively close to the cities of Bordeaux and Toulouse or, more specifically, in the départements Charente (8 or 1.3 x 1000 km²) and Haute Garonne (10 or 1.6 x 1000 km²). Franz Petri is in perfect accord with the indication of the map: "Jenseits der Loire kommt fast keine Spur mehr von solchen Ortsnamen vor, bis auf eine kleinere Gruppe von -ville im Département der Haute Garonne und im Département de la Charente"... In the territories formerly under Frankish dominion north of the Loire, the densest concentrations occur in the northeast near the linguistic border in the départements: Meurthe et Moselle with 62 or 11.9 x 1000 km² Meuse with 39 or 6.3 x 1000 km², Vosges with 28 or 4.7 x 1000 km², Haute Marne with 14 or 2.2 x 1000 km², Moselle with 12 or 1.9 x 1000 km² and in the area surrounding Paris which comprises the Beauce region, i.e.: Seine et Oise with 32 or 6.0 x 1000 km², Seine et Marne with 18 or 3.0 x 1000 km², Eure et Loire with 42 or 7.1 x 1000 km², Loiret with 10 or 1.5 x 1000 km². Although Dauzat claims that the Beauce region (approx. the départements Eure et Loire and Loiret) is the zone of maximum concentration of the villa place-names in France, this is clearly contradicted by the figures provided by the map, for the c. 52 specimens of Beauce cannot compare with the 62 specimens of Meurthe et Moselle. One can only surmise that the apparently "inflated" view held by Dauzat is due to the inclusion of all -ville names including those of a completely Romance/Gallo-Roman composition. But it is surely in the northwest of France, in the coastal départements of Normandy, that the greatest number of
-ville names congregate. These are thought to have been created in the Xth century with the seizure and colonisation of these lands by the Northmen.\textsuperscript{256} Here is a list of the densities: Seine Maritime with 95 or 15.3 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, Manche with 66 or 13.5 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, Eure with 59 or 9.8 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, and Calvados with 49 or 8.9 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}. The villare toponyms (v. fig. 5 "names in villare and its variants") occur much less frequently than the -villa names: the former has but 173 specimens as opposed to 621 for the latter. However the distribution is more regular since all villare names are located north of the Loire. The zone of maximum concentration is indisputably the three eastern départements:\textsuperscript{257} Haut Rhin with 36 or 10.2 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, Bas Rhin with 38 or 7.9 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, and Moselle with 28 or 4.5 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}. Almost all the 102 examples employ the germanised forms willer, weiler, wihr. One also finds sizeable concentrations in the départements Doubs (10 or 1.9 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}) and Oise (13 or 2.2 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}). Finally, concerning those compositions of the Romance type, ville-/villare- + complement, the map (v. fig. 6 "names beginning with ville- or villare-") indicates a very diffuse incidence. For the 85 specimens there appears to be no pattern of distribution. The areas with the most sizeable concentrations all have fewer than 10 specimens and are widely separated, ie: Haute Saône has 8 or 1.5 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, Savoie has 8 or 1.3 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, Aude with 6 or .96 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}, Loir et Cher with 6 or 9.5 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2} and Yonne with 5 or .67 x 1000 km\textsuperscript{2}.

Although villa and cortis are the most prolific of the Romance appellatives combining with German anthroponyms there are some other terms which enter such combinations, i.e., fontana,
Fig 5: Names in villare and its variants: 131

Legend:
- 1-5 names: 
- 10-19: 
- 20+: 

173 names total
Fig 6: Names beginning with ville or villare: 132

Legend:
5-9 names: •••••
10-19 ••••
20 or more •••••

85 names total
These common nouns represent certain thematic categories from references to habitations (mansus, mansionile), topographical descriptions (mons, rivus, vallis) to man-made structures (pons). Similar to the *villa* examples, toponyms employing these Latin appellatives are found principally north of the Loire. Mansus is a late Latin noun meaning "petite ferme" or "lot de terre avec habitation". It takes different "graphies" according to region: -metz, -mez in the Pas de Calais-Nord zone, -meix in the Meurthe-et-Moselle or Meuse area, -mer in the Somme. The following toponyms are composed of this appellative and a Germanic anthroponym Aubrometz (PdC) Aubourcmés 1243, from Adalburgis; Englebelmer (Somme) Englebertmes 1301, from Engilbert; Gibeaumeix (M et M) Gibodivilla 707-38 Gibboins Mansus 965, from Gebald. Mansio, a habitation, yields the modern French "maison". Such examples are rare: Contalmaison (Somme Guntar maisuns 1261, Contarmaisons 1261, from Gunthard. A later Latin noun derived from mansio is mansionila, "maison de paysan" which appears either as menil/ mesnil or, in the Franche Comté and Burgundy, as magny: Aubermesnil (Seine Maritime) Osbermaisnil 1139, from Osbert; Badménil-aux-Bois (Vosges) eccl. Baldinimenisis 1062, Baudemesnil 1317, from Baldo; Giromagny (Belfort) Girardmaigny 1426, Giromaigny 1655 from Girard. These examples serve to illustrate the principal settlement names but there are still others: Cella, "petite maison", is found in Alliancelles (Marne) Asonella c. 850, from Agiso (later replaced by Alisa); Billancelles (Eure et Loire) Billuncellae c. 1116, from Billa; or under the Germanised form zelle: Floringzelle (PdC) from Floring; castellum gives the modern
French "château" and is found in Hattonchâtel (Meuse) Atona 812, castrum Haddonis 1015, from Haddo; ecclesia, modern French "église": Bellenglise (Aisne) Belaineglise 1120, from Billung; Nonpateleize (Vosges) Norpardi ecclesiae 1140, Norpateglize, from Norbert. The following list affords a general indication of the topographical appellatives found in Germano-Romance hybrid toponyms: boscus, "bois"; Auzebosc (Seine Maritime) from Altgis; fons, "fontaine": Noirefontaine (Doubs) de Fonte Arnulphi 1147, Noirefontaine 1748, from Arnwulf; campus, "champ": Humbercamps (Pas de Calais) Heudebercamp 1200, from Hildibert; (ex)sartum, "défrichement": Gespunsart (Ardennes) Gebunisartun 1081, Gesprsunt 1264, from Giboin; podium, "lieu élevé": Frespech (Lot et Garonne) from Frisco; pons, "pont": Guerpont (meuse) from Weri; pratum, "pré": Gaudiempré (Pas de Calais) Gunduwini pratum 1179, from Gunduin; rivus, "ruisseau": Blancherupt (B. Rhin) from Blanca; and finally vallis, "vallée": Rimboval (Pas de Calais) Raimbodi villis 1177, from Raginbod.

All the previous examples exhibit the Germanic type of composition but a number of these appellatives do demonstrate the more Romance syntax. There are certainly fewer examples of the Romance composition but these, nevertheless, occur in more or less the same regions as their counterparts employing cortis and villa. For example, fons is found in: Fontevrault (M et L) Fons Evraldi 1100-17, from Ebrald; or Pontgambault (Indre) abbatiam Fontis gambaudi 1184, from Gundbald mansus: Marimbaud (Gironde) from Raginbald; podium: Péchabon (Hte Garonne) from Abbo; vallis: Valframbert (Orne) from Frambert. These names should suffice to show the existence of both methods of formation.
The Germano-Romance toponyms studied are the results of a cultural symbiosis but there are also wholly Germanic formations which attest to a strong, direct Germanic influence. The latter category embraces homogeneous Germanic place-names of the type, Germanic complement + Germanic determinative, either a suffix or an appellative. Here too one finds toponyms formed either through derivation or composition. Similar to the ancient formations in -iacum the Germanic collective suffix -ing joined with an anthroponym is encountered in northern France and dates from the earliest period of Germanic colonisation. This is the single example of derivation belonging to Germanic toponymic nomenclature employed in France. The method of formation termed composition, so characteristic of the Germanic tongues, permits the combination of a wide range of appellatives to create new terms. The common nouns which can often be ascribed to a particular Germanic ethnic group are joined to an anthroponym usually in the genitive case, i.e.: Bernolsheim (B. Rhin) - from Bernwulfs + heim. Many of these nouns are of a topographical nature whilst others refer rather to human habitations and structures: -heim, -dorf, -hof, -berg, -bruch, -mar, -kirch(e) etc. This examination will consider the various Germanic determinatives with appropriate illustrations in an attempt to appreciate the contribution made to French toponymy by the individual German tribes.

A controversy surrounds the etymology of the suffix -ing. One deceptive hypothesis which Longnon condemned as "complètement erronée" posits that -ing expresses filiation, i.e.: Beringen, the son(s) of Bero, and therefore is the equivalent to "son" or the High German adjective "jung". Rather more believable is the
theory championed by Vincent, Longnon, and Dauzat that this suffix expresses the "subjection" of certain men to a particular lord or chieftain. Vincent explains his view thus: "... l'ensemble des personnages entourant, à titre de subordonnés, le personnage dont le nom forme l'élé radical". However, Gröhler insists that -ing originally had a "patronymische Bedeutung", that is it referred to a clan relationship and eventually came to signify a mere individual name. Odet Perrin, too, in his Les Burgondes attributes a patronymic function to this common Germanic suffix where it occurs in Burgundian toponyms: "A l'origine, les noms de lieux burgondes furent formés par un toponyme terminé par le suffixe ing on ung..." Finally as a synthesis or compromise, F. Lot combines the "filiation" and "subjection" theories arriving at the following statement: "Il (ing) s'emploie pour désigner la collectivité formée autour d'un chef par sa famille, sa descendance, ses gens..." Despite the obvious disparity of these etymologies all sources seem to be agreed on the "collective" character of the suffix whether it means "the son(s) of..." or "the people of..." Another point upon which most scholars are united is the antiquity of the -ing place-names of France with regard to the stage of Germanic settlement reflected. It seems certain that such toponyms may be traced back to the earliest days of Teutonic colonisation: "Tout indique que les noms en -ing remontent aux premiers temps de la colonisation germanique..." Whatever its true etymology may be, it is certain that the collective suffix -ing was common to all the Germanic idioms because it is found in certain distinct forms in the regions...
colonised by the Alemanni, Burgundians, Franks, and Visigoths. In the Frankish zone of northern France including French Flanders, one encounters the genitive plural form -ingas which yields -enge in the Romanised areas of the northeast and -inge in Flanders. In the area formerly settled and ruled by the Burgundians, particularly the départements of Doubs, Haute Saône and Jura, the primitive Gothic form -ingos lives on in the "graphies" -ans, -ens. However, where place-names bearing these "graphies" occur in the Languedoc or Aquitaine it is often probable that they stem rather from the Visigoths whose dialect is closely related to that of the Burgundians. Unfortunately a complication arises in the identification of -ing toponyms in the central and southern zones of France due to confusion with an obscure, purportedly Ligurian suffix -inco(s), ie: Albenc (Isère), pré-celtic Alba, "forteresse, colline", + -incum. As for the truly German regions of Alsace and Lorraine (east) one naturally finds little change in form where either -ing or its plural form -ingen are standard. Following are a series of toponyms which serve both to illustrate the regional "graphies" and, in some instances, to recall the influence of a particular Teutonic tribe:

A. -ing > -ing or the plural form -ingen

The suffix remains unaltered only in the heavily Germanised areas of northeastern France, that is, in the départements of Moselle, Bas Rhin, and Haut Rhin. Not surprisingly this zone which was subjected to the most intense Germanisation in all Gallia Romana contains a large number of -ing place names. Due to the stability of the form the normally difficult identification
(cf. Volkserbe, p. 642) is obviated. In the case of those names from the Moselle département the plural form -ingen, the most commonly used in modern German toponymy, is replaced by the singular form -ing which may often be due to a process of Francisation. These toponyms called from the Germanophone areas of France illustrate these points well: Alzing (Moselle) Anselnigen, 1594, Altzing XVIIth c. from Ansila or Alzo (prob. hypocoristic form of alis- "autre" p. 33, Morlet); Guebling (Moselle) Gueblingen 1525, from Gabilo (likely a hypocoristic form derived from gib- "don" p. 108); Lasingen (Luxemburg, Belgium) Luxengias 1042, from Lucki/Ludger (Leudegarius p. 159; from liut- "peuple" and gar- "prêt"); Oermingen (B. Rhin) from Ermo (p. 84; from erman- "immense"); Weislingen (B. Rhin) from Wizzilo (probably derived from wid- "bois, forêt", p. 220).

B. -inge -ingue(s) or -ange/-enge

The first alternate form occurs in a compact group in the extreme northeast corner of France in the departements of Nord and Pas de Calais which comprise French Flanders whilst the latter strongly Francised forms are most prevalent in Lorraine. In other words, these variants occur in the zones of ancient Frankish dominion. Here are some specimens bearing these forms:

Autingues (Pas de Calais) Altenges 1206, from Alto (p. 31; from ald- "vieux"); Durenges (Liège, Belgium) from Duro (Torro p. 76; from dur "giant"); Hérange (Moselle) Helgeringon 1178, from Helihgar (likely Helitgerus p. 128; from helid- "homme, héros" and gar- "prêt"); Uckange (Moselle) Utingas 1152, Ukenge 1181, from Ucho/Hugo (Hucho p. 140; from hug- "esprit, pensée"); Wulverdinghe (Nord) Uulverdinge 1189, from Wulfrad (Wolfrat p. 230;
from wulf- "loup" and rad- "avis, conseil").

C. -ing -ans, -ens (-eins)

By far the majority of the place-names taking these endings are found in the "Siedlungsraum", zone of settlement, of the Burgundians: the Franche Comté, the départements of Ain, Côte d'or and Doubs. There are isolated examples in other parts of France but these almost certainly do not arise because of Burgundian influence.

In view of the incidence of both Frankish anthroponyms and suffixes (i.e.: -ange, -inge) on Burgundian territory it is prudent to regard as Burgundian in origin 271 only those toponyms in which an unequivocably Burgundian anthroponym unites with -ans, -ens (-eins). Th. Perrenot recognised the value of the anthroponyms for the purpose of identification: "Le nom qui précédè le suffixe -ingen est d'une importance décisive; lui seul nous permet de nous convaincre si nous avons à faire à un nom alémannique, francique ou autre..." 272 As has been noted already such "graphies" usually denote a Visigothic or other origin when they occur in the south. Here are some toponyms which are regarded as Burgundian or Visigothic: Battenans (Doubs) Batenans c. 1235, Bathenans 1360, from the hypothetical Baltenans derived from the Burgundian anthroponym Baltho (Baldo p. 50); Fremondans (Doubs) Frummundans 1136, from Frumemund (form not listed; probably derived from frum- "premier" and munt- "protection") from Gothic *Framamunds; the next two toponyms stem from the area around Toulouse and are thought to result from Gothic influence: Esqualquens (Hte Garonne) representing *Skalkingos derived from the Gothic anthroponym Scalco (p. 196; from scalc- "serviteur"); Roumens (Hte Garonne) from Ruomo (probably a hypocoristic form of rum- "gloire" p. 191).
The variety of "graphies" which the suffix -ing may take in France as well as the problem of the confusion with Ligurian inco(s) renders the identification and analysis quite complicated. Dauzat speaking of the -ing toponyms acknowledges the complexity of this task: "Cette question des noms de lieux en -ing est une des plus complexes et des plus controversées de la toponymie germano-romane...",(Top. burg. p. 6) Fortunately the plotted geographical distribution of these names can shed valuable light on this problem. In plotting the location of the 442 -ing names which occur in France it seemed expedient to divide the study between two maps: one containing those forms in which the Germanic "g" has been retained i.e.: -ing, -ange(s), -enge(s), -ingue (fig. 7 "forms in -ing(en), -ange(s), -enge(s), -ingue") and another containing the forms -ans, -ens, -eins (fig. 8. "forms in -ans, -ens, -ein(s), -ain"). The first distribution map (fig. 7) shows that the primitive Germanic suffix -ing(en) and the romanised forms in -ange(s), -enge(s) and -ingue are concentrated overwhelmingly in the northeastern département Moselle and to a lesser degree in the eastern départements of Côte d'Or and Jura. It is striking to remark the high density of -ing toponyms in Moselle which alone encompasses 134 specimens or 21.6 x 1000 km². However, given that Moselle forms the northeastern gateway to the linguistic frontier, it is perhaps understandable that so many examples should occur there. The other two points of concentration Côte d'or and Jura possess 10 specimens or 1.1 x 1000 km² and 11 specimens or 2.0 x 1000 km² respectively. This marked decrease in density underscores the significance of Moselle.
Fig 7. Forms in ~ing(en), ~ange(s), ~ings, ~ings.
Now the second map (fig. 8) exhibiting primarily the distribution of the suffixes -ans, -ens appears to confirm the hypothesis that such place-names derive from a Burgundian form -ingos since the great majority of the specimens congregate in the following four départements which formerly belonged to the Burgundian realm: Doubs (58 names; 11.1 x 1000 km²), Haute Saône (34 names; 6.4 x 1000 km²), Jura (22 names; 4.4 x 1000 km²) and Ain (15 names; 2.6 x 1000 km²). Together these four départements account for 129 of a total 238. A comparison of the two maps reveals that some of the Burgundian départements possess names containing the Frankish type forms -ange, -enge as well as the Burgundian -ans, -ens (ie: Côte d'or 10-6, Saône et Loire 7-4, and Haute Savoie 3-4 respectively). The mingling of these divergent forms in the same territory is thought to be due to the activity of parallel Frankish and Burgundian influences, probably following the conquest of Burgundy by the Frankish kings in 534 A.D. The need for circumspection in establishing the etymologies of toponyms in these territories is cogently elaborated by Odet Perrin in Les Burgondes: "Je pense que l'on peut considérer comme véritablement burgondes les localités en -ans, -ens etc. quand elles sont groupées en grand nombre dans l'une ou l'autre des régions de la Séquanaise ou de la Savoie, mais qu'une réserve s'impose pour les noms isolés et aussi pour ceux qui se trouvent dans la partie septentrionale de la Séquanaise ou des influences alémaniques ou franciques sont toujours possibles..." Apart from the compact numbers of examples in the central départements of ancient Burgundy, there are other -ans, -ens names occurring throughout France but
particularly in the southwest on the site of the ancient Visigothic kingdom. The zone immediately surrounding Toulouse, the Visigoths' capital, that is: Haute Garonne, Tarn, Gers, and Ariège, contains a fair number of place-names in -ens. In fact, Haute Garonne, the point of maximum density, contains 11 such names or 1.7 x 1000 km². These toponyms are regarded as Gothic in origin whilst the remaining more isolated names probably represent "pockets" of Germans (v. Nègre, p. 102).

Relatively few Germanic words were borrowed by the Gallo-Romans after the "Landnahme" but the number can be substantially increased by including the sixty odd appellatives which remain "fossilised" in French toponymy (v. Lévy, p. 19). These substantives have a descriptive value because they indicate something about the nature of the land or the type of human habitation or structure. In this type of toponym the Germanic appellative is joined to a complement which may be either an adjective (i.e.: Dieffenthal (Haut Rhin) = "deep valley") or an anthroponym (i.e.: Bendorf (Haut Rhin) = Benno" + dorf). Almost without exception the syntax is the characteristically Germanic, complement + determinative. As these toponyms are wholly comprised of Germanic elements it follows that they should occur largely in the territories submitted to the most intense Germanic influence viz. Alsace-Lorraine. It is possible to distinguish three basic classes of appellatives according to their tribal/dialectal origin: Frankish or Common Germanic, Saxon and Scandinavian.

Of the appellatives of a Common Germanic, "gemeindeutsche", source, the settlement noun -heim which signifies "village, dwelling place" (Gröhler, p. 253) is perhaps the most frequently
employed in all France. Certainly for Franz Petri there appears to be little doubt in this regard: "Es ist bekanntlich die allgemeinste und verbreiteste Bezeichnung, die das Germanische für Gruppen von Bauwerken, in welchen die Menschen zu geselligem und schützendem Zusammenwohnen sich vereinigten, besaß..." This appellative is common to Holland, Belgium, Germany and appears often in the toponymy of England as these examples from the southern counties demonstrate: Aylesham (Kent), Chilham (Kent), Horsham (Sussex), Lenham (Kent), Sidlesham (Sussex), Shoreham (Sussex), and Wingham (Kent). In terms of its function as designation for habitations and its widespread usage in toponymy, one could justifiably maintain that a correspondence exists between -heim and the Romance names -court, -ville. Semantically there is a parallel too between -heim and -court because both originally signified a single dwelling-place but later gained the broader sense of "village". Unfortunately the great similarity of form and distribution with -ham, "a bend in a river", complicates etymologisation. A further complication to analysis is presented by the divergent modern "graphies" which -heim takes in various regions of France: -heim/-haim in the German-speaking east, -ain/-ien in Wallonia, -hem, -em, -ent, -en in the north and northwest. Concerning the composition of the place-names in -heim, it is customary to find the appellative tacked onto a Germanic anthroponym in either the strong or weak forms of the genitive, that is in -s or in -en. These toponyms serve to illustrate the various -heim names occurring in France:

A. -heim

In the Germanophone départements of Moselle, Bas Rhin and Haut Rhin this is the dominant form. The following examples contain
Germanic personal names in the strong or weak genitive: Baldersheim (H. Rhin) Balthersheim 976, from Baldo (p. 50; from bald- "hardi"); Friedelsheim (B Rhin) Fridesheim c. 1140, Fridelsheim VIIth c., from Friddo (p. 94; from frid- "paix"); Habsheim (H Rhin) Habuhinasheim 758, from Habuini (not listed in Morlet; first element may be hab- "posséder" p. 118, and the second wini- "ami", p. 226); Meyenheim (H Rhin) Meieneim 1187, Megenheim 1232, from Megino (likely a hypocoristic form of magan- "puissance" p. 165); Sessenheim (B Rhin) Sahsenheim c. 1050, from Sahso/Saxo (Sahso, p. 194; from sahs- "les Saxons").

B. -heim > -hem (em), (-ent); -ham (-ain), (-ant).

Toponyms having these alternate forms are found mainly in the northwest of France particularly in the départements Nord and Pas de Calais. Some of them might well be traced to a Saxon origin as the coastal regions of these areas are recognised as zones of Saxon colonisation and as place-names in -ham occur on both sides of the Channel (v. Longnon p. 182 §742). Here are some samples: Audrehem (Pd.C) Aldonhem 844, from Aldo (p. 31; from ald- "vieux"); Bohain (Aisne) Bohang 1138, Buchammum XIIth c., from Bodo/Bolo (Bodo, p. 59; from bod- "messager"); Drineham (Nord) from Taro/Terro (not listed in Morlet); Etreham (Calvados) Oesterham 1350, from adjective ost- "east"; Gonnehem (PdC) Goneham 1142; Godneham 1163, from Godina (p. 114; from god- "dieu ou bon").

The distribution map of the -heim place-names (v. fig 9 "names in -heim") reveals a thin line of specimens along the northern periphery of France running roughly from southern Alsace to Normandy with a gap in the Ardennes-Meuse zone. However,
this line has a notable bulge in the Alsatian départements Haut Rhin and Bas Rhin where the greatest concentration of these names occurs. Fully 156 of 188 -heim names are grouped in these two areas: Bas Rhin has 105 or 21.9 x 1000 km\(^2\) and Haut Rhin has 51 or 14.6 x 1000 km\(^2\). The remaining 37 specimens are quite spread out. Another point of concentration is the northwest corner where Nord has 9 or 1.6 x 1000 km\(^2\) and Pas de Calais has 7 or 1.0 x 1000 km\(^2\). In view of the wide extension of -heim in present Germanic territory this limited distribution in France may well be the result of either restricted colonisation of Gallia by the Germans or the consequences of subsequent Romanisation processes or both of these factors. For Godefroid Kurth this served to support his theory that the line of Frankish/Germanic settlement corresponded to that of the later linguistic frontier (v. Petri, Volkserbe, 639).

Another quite widely employed Germanic appellative is the hydronymic bak, baki, "stream", which takes two main forms in French toponymy: -bach or the Romanised variant -bais is from High German whilst -beek (or the Romanised equivalent -becque) is of Low German origin. This common noun enjoys great popularity north of the linguistic frontier and is the basis for a good number of toponyms in France. For Ernst Gamillscheg the -baki names of Belgium and France had a special significance because by plotting the distribution of the variant forms in -bais, -bai, he proposed to be able to delimit the zones of colonisation of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks, the tribes held to have jointly conquered and settled a large portion of northern Gallia Romana. However, Walter von Wartburg in his critical appraisal of Gamillscheg's
theory took a negative view of the significance ascribed to these forms. Whatever the true importance of this noun may be, it merits attention on account of its relatively high incidence in France. A map (v. fig. 10 "names in -baki (-bekkr) showing the distribution of the -baki toponyms reveals that the greatest concentration occurs in the Germanophone départements where, of a total of 123 such names documented, Haut Rhin has 43 or 12.2 x 1000 km², Bas Rhin has 23 or 4.8 x 1000 km² and Moselle has 16 or 2.6 x 1000 km². These names all terminate in the modern High German -bach or, in rarer cases, the romanised -bais. On the other hand, the Low German forms in -bec(que) are found in the Pas de Calais and Nord due to Flemish influence. Together they possess 8 specimens or .65 x 1000 km². There are a few scattered specimens in the other départements north of the Loire and even one or two below the Loire (i.e.: in Savoie, Loire and Deux Sèvres). In Normandy (v. areas with cross-hatching) one finds some places bearing the Scandinavian equivalent of -baki viz. -bekkr. The toponyms selected here to illustrate both the High and Low German forms encountered in France usually combine with appellatives rather than anthroponyms. This is in contrast to the appellatives and suffixes discussed thus far. These are the regionalised "graphies" and their examples:

A. -baki > -bach
This is the standard form in Germany and in those départements contiguous to that country ie: Moselle, Haut and Bois Rhin: Bousbach (Moselle) Buezbach 1429, Buschbach 1525, from busc-(MHG. Busch) "wood"; Carspach (Haut Rhin) Charoltespach 877, Karolspach 1266, from Charoald (probably Charivaldus p. 127;
Legend:
- 5~9 names
- 10~19 names
- 20~ names
- Bekhr names
- zone
- total:
- 125 Bekhe, 12 Bekhr names
from hari- "épée" and wald- "gouverner, commander"); Leimbach (H Rhin) Leymbach 1223, Lembach (Bas Rhin) from Lehm "clay"; Muhlbach (H Rhin) Mulebac 1057-72, Muhlbach-sur-Bruche (B Rhin) from Mühle "mill"; Wisembach (Vosges) Wesembeg 1180, from wisa "meadow".

B. -baki > -bais(-bouix)
This is the romanised form of the High German noun found mainly in the départements Marne, Aisne, Seine et Oise, Seine et Marne and Pas de Calais and Nord: Marbaix (Nord) Marbasio 1151, from marah "horse"; Orbaix (Marne) monasterii Orbacensis IXth c. from -uro/-urus "Auerochs"; Rebais (Seine et Marne) Resbacis 635-6, Resbacem XIIth c., Resbaco 1174, Resbacum 1214, from hros- "horse".

C. -baki > -bec(gues)
This is the Low German form. It occurs in the names of Pas de Calais and Nord exclusively: Bambecque (Nord) Banbeca 1164, from ban "border"; Estiembecque (PdC) Stainbeca 1084, Estainbeke XIIIth c., from stein "stone"; Steenbecque (Nord) Steenbeka 1183, from steen "stone". (cf. previous example).

Besides -heim and -bach there is quite a list of other Frankish or Common Germanic appellatives belonging to French toponymy. Rather than enter into great detail on the etymology of each appellative this consideration will be restricted to an enumeration including the meanings and appropriate illustrations. Following the primitive form of each appellative is a figure referring to the number of specimens found in France. This affords one an indication of the relative importance of each noun. The need to describe the land resulted in this sizeable grouping of topographical names: au, auwja(17) "wet plain" -
- Audeux (Doubs) from the anthroponym Ado; Eschau (Bas Rhin) from ask "ash"; berg (24) "mountain" - Audembert (PdC) from the anthroponym Hundo, Looberghe (Nord) from loh "wood"; bruch (5) "swampy land" - Rubrouck (Nord) from ru "rough"; brunnen (13) "fountain, source" - Montbrunn (Moselle) from the anthroponym Munt; feld (13) "field" - Benfeld (B Rhin) from anthroponym Benno, Reichsfeld (B Rhin) from anthroponym Rico; furt (3) "ford" - Illfurth (H Rhin) from Ill the name of a river; gard (2) "garden, enclosure" Haugard (Somme) from anthroponym Hano; Holz (9) "wood" - Hadol (Vosges) from anthroponym Haido; land (2) "land" Hirschland (B Rhin) from hirsch "stag"; lar (17) "clearing" - Andelarre (H Saône) from anthroponym Ando, Wallers (Nord) from anthroponym Wallo; loh (9) "wood" - Englos (Nord) from anthroponym Ingilo, Wattrelos (Nord) from water "water"; mar (10) "pond, lake" Gérardmer (Vosges) from anthroponym Gerwald; sand (2) "sand" - Wissant (PdC) from wit "white"; statt (10) "place, spot" - Manstadt (Moselle) from anthroponym Macco; steen (5) "stone" - Erstein (B Rhin) from anthroponym Ero; tal (16) "valley" - Beutal (Doubs) from anthroponym Bodo, Renédale (Doubs) from anthroponym Hrendolf; and finally -wald (4) "wood" - Birkenwald (B Rhin) from either anthroponym Birico or birke "birch".

In order to designate their habitations or communities the Teutonic settlers employed a series of common nouns which German toponymists term "Siedlungsbezeichnungen". There are also some appellatives indicating the nature of man-made structures. Like the previous topographical appellatives these too are of Frankish or "allgemeindeutsche" origin: alah (3) "temple" - Bouafle (Seine et Oise) from anthroponym Baldo; burg (37) "fort, castle" - Vittersburg (Moselle) from anthroponym Widhari; bruck (5) "bridge" - Bliesbruck.
Blies is a river name; dorf (53) "village" — Pisdorf (B Rhin) from anthroponym Piso, Volstroff (Moselle) from anthroponym Wolo; haus (31) "house, dwelling" — Bosselshausen (B Rhin) from anthroponym Buozolt, Reithouse (Jura) from reit(en) "to ride"; hof (22) "farm" — Berqueneus (PdC) from berg "mountain"; kirche (18) "church" — Haverskerque (Nord) from anthroponym Hawirich, Neunkirch (Moselle) from neu "new"; and lastly sala (16) "house, dwelling" — Audreselles (PdC) from anthroponym Other/Guerqueselles (Orne) from anthroponym Warga. Almost invariably these examples contain all Germanic elements and exhibit Germanic syntax. One unusual exception to this rule appears to be Burgalays (Haute Garonne) formed from burg + Adalheid, which despite its Germanic constituents shows a wholly un-Germanic word-order, either a direct Romance creation or a transformation due to a later Romanisation.

Specialists are able to distinguish appellatives of Saxon and Scandinavian sources in a limited zone in the northwest of France. The Saxon names are located largely in the coastal areas around Boulogne and in some parts of Normandy whilst the Scandinavian or Norse names abound in the Norman départements of Manche, Oise, Calvados, Seine-Maritime and Eure. Due to the co-existence of Norse and Saxon elements in Normandy it is sometimes difficult to establish the origins with certainty. Furthermore, Rostaing cites the similarity of the two dialects as a complicating factor: "En Normandie l'élément saxon est difficile à discerner, la plupart des racines étant communes au saxon et au norrois". The toponyms illustrative of various Saxon and Norse appellatives show Germanic word-order and generally combine with anthroponyms.
These appellatives are considered to have a Saxon source: cot (3) "habitation" - Caudecotte (Eure), (Seine-Maritime) from kalt "cold"; fleodh (5) "gulf, bay" - Figuefleur-Equainville (Eure) from anthroponym Piccho, Honfleur (Calv) from anthroponym Huno; gat (2) "passage" - Enquingatte (PdC) from anthroponym Inguin, Houlgate (Calvados) from hohl "hollow"; hō (1) "promontory" - Quettehou (Manche) from anthroponym Ketill; tun283 (9) "farm, village" - Offretun (PdC) from the anthroponym Vulphar, Warneton (Nord) from anthroponym Warin. As for the Norse appellatives, these are amongst the most significant: bekkr (12) "stream" - Foulbec (Eure) from full "foul", Varenguebec (Manche) from anthroponym Waring; both (12) "habitation, shelter" - Baboeuf (Oise) from anthroponym Baddo; bū (2) "farm" - Tournebu (Calvados) from thorn "thorn, spine"; hus (3) "house" - Crapus (Seine-Maritime) from anthroponym Krappo, Etainhus (Seine-Maritime) from stein "stone"; lundr (6) "little wood" - Boulon (Calvados) from anthroponym Bolo; topt (53) "land with habitation", this is the most popular Norse appellative and the equivalent of villa in toponymy,284 Beautot (Seine-Maritime) from anthroponym Baldrekr, Houdetot (Seine-Maritime) from anthroponym Huldo. But there are occasional deviations from the customary Germanic word-order here too: Tortiambert (Calvados) from thorp + Hambert.
B. Germanic Complement and Germanic Determinative

216 Gysseling, p. 5.

217 A.E. Verhulst proposes that -cortis was applied as a collective designation not only for the buildings and lands belonging to a rural estate but also the dependent farms round about: "Het word curtis duidt bijna steeds een groot landgoederencomplex aan, omvattend niet alleen een geheel van gebouwen en gronden die rechtstreeks voor de groot grondbezitter geëxploiteerend werden, maar ook de aan dit domeincentrum in mindere of meerdere mate ondergeschikte kleinere landbouwbedrijven." Verhulst, p. 38.


220 Lot, De l'originé, p. 204.

221 Rostaing, Noms, p. 71.

222 Lot, De l'originé, p. 204.

223 "D'une façon générale, on peut dire que les noms où l'épithète précède (système germanique) sont les plus anciens..." Dauzat, p. 154.


225 Rostaing, Noms, p. 72.

226 Vincent, Toponymie, p. 172 §407.
156

"Le système de composition latine était beaucoup plus souple". Daupat, p. 138.

Nègre, p. 106.

Lévy, p. 22.

Musset, p. 197.

Lévy, p. 25.

Daupat, Noms, p. 138.


Here are just a few comparisons. The source of the figure is indicated thus: +Petri, my figures, Rostaing-PdC +38, 35, 29; Meuse +48, 49, 23; Somme +71, 60, 31; Nord +19, 18, 14; Aisne +42, 31, 19; Oise +36, 28, 10; M et M +39, 34, 16; Vosges +33; 38, 13; Moselle 28, 13. v. Petri, p. 706, Rostaing, pp. 71-72.

Lot, De L'origine, p. 206.


Longnon, p. 235 §949.

Vincent, p. 180 §429.

Verhulst, p. 38.

Daupat, p. 136.

Vincent, p. 184 §434.

Longnon, p. 238 §959.
Vincent recognises the historical, ethnological value of those toponyms in which Scandinavian personal names are united with -villa: "Nous disposons donc d'un critère, qui nous faisait défaut pour le reste de la France, pour établir la race, sinon des habitants du village, du moins de leur seigneur..." (Lot, De l'origine, p. 235) Longnon agrees with this opinion: "La proportion dans laquelle les présente la nomenclature topographique des départements qu'à formés la Normandie procure d'utiles indications sur l'étendue de la colonisation scandinave..." (p. 293 §1225), Longnon, p. 236 §951.

Rostaing, p. 73.

Vincent, p. 183 §433.

Longnon, p. 125 §517.

Rostaing, p. 70.

Ibid., p. 74.

Dauzat, p. 137.

Longnon, p. 238 §959.

Longnon, p. 228 §930.

Nègre pointed out that such names surrounded Toulouse like "une auréole...", (p. 103).

Petri, Volkserbe, p. 707.

Dauzat, Les noms de lieux, p. 136.

Longnon, p. 292 §1225.
This is a reflection of the vigorous usage of villare by the Germans. Gysseling speaks of the popularity of villare thus: "Het Romaande naambestanddeel villare is, over de taalgrens heen, dus als leenwoord, ook in het Rijnlanden het Duitse zuidwesten zeer productief geworden..." (p. 33).

"L'aire d'extension de ces composés ne dépasse pas celle de villa..." (Nègre, p. 103).

Contrary to certain views, it is true that -ing appears in a patronymic function in the names of the dynasties: Merovingian, Carolingian, Lotharingian, signifying the descendants or relations of these monarchs: Mero-, Carol-, Lothar-.

Notwithstanding the various conflicting opinions, it seems appropriate to conclude that, at the very least, -ing expresses "belonging" as Petri puts it: "...jede beliebige Zugehörigkeit..." Petri, Volkserbe, p. 643.
Perrenot in discussing the evolution of *ing* emphasises that most Germanic toponymic elements are drawn from a common source: "Tous étaient des Germains, les uns de l'ouest, les autres de l'est, et ont puisé, pour la dénomination de leurs établissements dans un fonds commun, la vieille langue germanique." Perrenot, *Toponymie burgonde*, p. 27.

Rostaing comments thus on the relative ease of confounding these suffixes: "Mais dans tout le Midi des confusions de suffixes se sont produites, en particulier entre -ing germanique et ligure -inco." p. 66.

Nègre attributes this phenomenon to the establishment of Frankish colonies there following their victory over the Burgundians, p. 101.

Petri echoes this view: "Im ganzen ist die richtige Auswahl der -ingen Namen aus dem in Betracht kommenden Namenmaterial der romano-fränkischen Gebiete ungewöhnlich schwierig." *Volkserbe*, p. 642.

This distribution agrees with that arrived at by Rostaing who stated that one encounters toponyms in -ing "..plus particulièrement dans le département de la Moselle...", p. 64.

Gröhler recognises but two classes of appellatives: "westgermanisch" and "nordgermanisch", p. 250.

Petri, *Volkserbe*, p. 517.


Lévy claims that there are 250 -baki names in France, Note #1, p. 19.

As these names are treated separately under the heading of Scandinavian appellatives, no further toponymic examples will be offered here.

Rostaing, p. 69.

This saxon appellative appears frequently in the toponymy of southern England, ie: Alfriston (Sussex), Alton (Hants), Laughton (Sussex), Preston (Hants), Singleton (Sussex) etc.

Lot, De l'origine, p. 242.
C. Germanic Simple Names

To this point the study has concerned itself with the place-names which contain Germanic elements either through derivation or composition but there is another category of toponyms formed from a single Germanic word, either an appellative or an anthroponym. One can group these single names into four principal classifications: a) common nouns or adjectives, b) personal names, c) ethnic or regional names and d) religious names. All these names reflect the tremendous impact of the Teutonic presence on the social order, the demography and religion of Gallia Romana. Though the Germans have long since been assimilated and much of their legacy has been erased, it is toponymy which continues to indicate the former pervasiveness of their influence.

Germanic anthroponyms in "isolation" viz. without other elements, serve as designations for inhabited places throughout France. Like the Romans, the Teutons often chose to designate some places by a personal name alone as a consideration of modern German toponymy proves. In the case of Gallia Romana there are several possible explanations for the existence of such place-names. They may originate from the name of a German landlord (i.e.: the "Herrensiedlung" theory) or military leader or, more plausibly, they may testify to the vogue which Germanic personal names enjoyed with the aboriginal inhabitants beginning in the 5th century. Whether these names were created by a German or Gallo-
Roman population is extremely difficult to ascertain but the significant point is the strength and extent of Germanic influence they indicate. Toponyms consisting solely of a Germanic personal name arose during the High Middle Ages, the time of the great "Völkerwanderung", and reached their peak of popularity in the feudal period. It is not surprising to discover that the greatest number of such names bear a masculine personal name because the basis of ancient German society was patriarchal. Nevertheless there are a few examples in which a feminine anthroponym is employed. All the anthroponyms fall into one of two groups according to their formation: firstly the customary compound form, what Longnon terms "type solennel"; secondly the single element, familiar form or "type hypocoristique". Here are some examples of the compound names. All are alphabetically arranged according to the primitive form of the appropriate anthroponym: Agilmund (Eglemund p. 22; from ag - "tranchant de l'épée" and munt - "protection"); Aiglemon (Ardennes); Baldwin (Baldwin p. 50; from bald - "hardi" and wini - "ami"); Bauvin (Nord); Baldranus (p. 50; from bald - "hardi" and hram - "corbeau"); Boran (Oise) Baudrinum 726; Berulfus (p. 53; from ber "ours" and wulf - "loup"); Bérus (Sarthe) vico Berulfo 616; Haduwin (Hadwin p. 119; from had - "lutte, combat" and wini - "ami"); Cadouin (Dordogne) de Cadunio 1201; Hariwan (not listed in Morlet; probably from hari "armée" and wan - "attente, espérance"); Haravesnes (PdC) Haravennae, end of the XIth century; Hederamnus (not in Morlet); Airan (Calvados) Heidram 843; Heilmar (Hailmarus p. 121; from hail - "sain" and mari - "illustre"); Hellimer (Moselle) Heylmer Xth century, Heylimer 1121; Landwin (Landuinus
p. 157; from land - "pays" and wini "ami"): Lauwin-Planque (Nord) Lanuin 957; Odbehrt (Odbertus p. 43; from aud - "richesse, prospérité" and bert "illustre, puissant"): Aubers (Nord) Otbertico 1135; Thesudoa (not listed but probably from thiot - "peuple" and dod - "jugement"): Doué (Maine et Loire) Doe 631, Theodadus, Thedwat 814, Doadus 847; Sigihart (p. 198; from sig - "victoire" and hard- "intrépide"): Sequehart (Aisne) terra Segardi 1147; Warhard (likely Warihart p. 218; from wara - "protection" and hard - "dur, intrépide"): Guérard (S et M) Wairar 1045, de Werardo 1080; Williram (Williram p. 225; from wilja - "valonté" and Hramn "corbeau"): Guilherand (Ardèche).

Less numerous are the examples where the second element has been suppressed to create an abbreviated, hypocoristic form: Abilo (p. 13; from abb- "homme"): Ablon (Calvados) (Seine et Oise) Abelon 1198; Berno (p. 54; from bern - "ours"): Bernis (Gard) Bernices 920, Bernizes 1007, Bernon (Aube) Bernon 1097; Hagino (p. 120; from hag - "clôture, maison"): Hagen (Moselle) Haguen 1737, Haine (PdC), Haisnes (PdC) Hainac 877, Aines 976, Haines 1123; Hrodo/Hrogo (Hrodo p. 135; from hrod - "gloire, louange"): Roncq (Nord) Ronc 1209; Runo (probably a hypocoristic form of run - "mystère, secret"): Rognon (Dous) Roignons 1165; Sino (probably from sin - "sens, opinion"): Senon (Meuse) Senon 1127; Tallo (p. 64; from dal - "vallée"): Falon (Nièvre) Talon 1490; Wacco (Wacho p. 211; from wac - "veiller"): Vacon (Meuse) Vuacon 1101; Wano (p. 216; from wan - "attente, espérance"): Guesnes (Vienne) Guaina 1108, Vagina 1124-1140; Winco (probably from the Latino-German root vinco - p. 226): Wingen (Bas Rhin), W-sur-Moder (B Rhin). Rarer still are feminine anthroponyms in isolation.
In all, research of the specimens collected for this category reveals but twenty-six of a total of 367 examples refer to feminine names. They are moreover almost exclusively compound names as these examples show: Alpigardis (Albigardis p. 29; from alb - "elfe" and gard "enclos, demeure"): Auppegard "Seine-Maritime"
Aupegart XIIth century; Alseda (Alsedus p. 18; from adal - "noble"): Aussois (Savoie) de Auceis 1184; Brunihild (Brunihildis p. 61; from bruni - "bruni, poli" and hild - "combat"): Bourniquel (Dordogne) Bruniquel 1281; Gisila (Gisla p. 111; from Gisal - "otage"): Le Guislain (Manche); Hunila (probably from the root hun - "force"): Houlle (PdC) Hunela 854; Iselindis (p. 147; from isarn - "fer" and lind - "bouclier"): Island (Yonne) Ælent 1184, Ilan 1208; Sigitrud (p. 199; from sig - "victoire" and trud - "fort"): Sorrus (PdC) Sigetrudis c. 814. Generally the anthroponyms are of Frankish or "gemeingermanisch" stock but occasionally the names are attributed to a particular tribal source, i.e., the Scandinavian Helgi yields Heugon (Orne) the Visigothic Allo inspires Llo (Pyrénées Orientales) and the Gothic*Merico gives Mérigon (Ariege).

The distribution map (fig. 11 "Germanic single anthroponyms) shows that names of this type are widely scattered throughout France. One would expect this in view of the adoption of Germanic names by the autochtonous population. However, it is still in the areas most heavily settled by Germans that the largest number are found. Five northern départements, four of which are located along the linguistic border, contain ten or more specimens each: Pas de Calais has 28 or 4.2 x 1000 km^2, Nord has 25 or 4.4 x 1000 km^2, Ardennes has 12 or 2.3 x 1000 km^2, Moselle has 14 or
fig 11  German single anthroponyms:

Legend:
- 5~9 names
- 10~19
- 20~

371 names total
2.2 × 1000 km² and Meurthe et Moselle has 11 or 2.1 × 1000 km². Also there are some concentrations worth mentioning in other germanised regions, i.e., in Franche Comté (Hte Saône, Doubs, Jura) there are 25 specimens or 1.5 × 1000 km², in the northwest corner of Normandy (Manche, Calvados) there are 16 or 1.4 × 1000 km² and in Savoy (Hte Savoie, Savoie) there are 14 or 1.4 × 1000 km². Despite the fact that these names are not reliable gauges of settlement, it is remarkable that the highest concentrations lie in those areas of France which were once heavily Germanised.

The Germanic onomasticon finds generous expression also in the realm of religion, more precisely, in the hundreds of Germanic saints' names which function as place-names. These names augment by several hundred the number of anthroponyms occurring in isolation. That this toponymic formation is in vigorous usage in Germanic lands, is demonstrated by such examples as these: St. Gotthard (Switzerland), St. Hubert (W. Germany, Belgium), St. Ingbert (W. Germany), St. Lenaarts (Belgium), St. Leonhard (Austria), St. Truiden (Belgium), St. Tuna (Sweden) and St. Wendel (W. Germany). It was in the VIth century that inhabited places in France began to be called after the name of a local patron saint. Once again it is a complex matter to determine which names were borne by Gallo-Romans and which by actual Germans. In the Vth and VIth centuries the proportion of Germanic personal names indicated by ecclesiastical documents was still low permitting one to surmise that they represented ethnic Germans. Paul Lévy cites the example of the acts of the ecclesiastical councils held in Gaul (475-578 A.D.) in which of 508 signatures a mere 28 were of Germanic origin.
the ethnic background of the celebrated, popular saints is known, i.e., St. Geneviève (Genofeva), the patroness of Paris, was the daughter of Gallo-Roman parents Gerontius and Severa; on the other hand, SS Médard, Sigismund and Radegonde were all Germans, indeed, the latter two were sovereigns of ruling Germanic dynasties in Gallia Romana. Thus these saint's names, "vocables hagiographiques", offer no aid in establishing the limits of Germanic colonisation. But they testify to the ubiquitousness of the Teutonic presence in Gallia which affected the various levels of social life including the religion.

Historically the Germanisation of the church in northern Gallia was greatly facilitated by a rapprochement between the autochthonous Gallo-Romans and the Franks who, earlier than other Germans, accepted orthodox catholicism, abjuring the heretical Arianism common to most German peoples in the early Middle Ages. It was the church itself which fostered the accommodation with the Franks: "Le clergé, seule autorité morale qui persistât, poussa les populations dans la voie de la résignation ou, pour mieux dire au ralliement." Eminent church teachers like Gregory of Tours and bishop Rémy of Rheims were willing collaborators of the Frankish kings. This early religious accommodation of Franks and Gallo-Romans and the Frankish political domination probably accounts for the dearth of Burgundian, Saxon, Gothic and Norse names in the list of Germanic saints. The latter tribes also remained faithful to Arianism thus hindering a similar rapprochement. The alphabetically compiled list of saints' names which follows is divided into two groups: masculine and feminine anthroponyms. This list is by no means complete but provides some
interesting toponymic examples. Wherever the identity of the saint is known this information is given. Here are specimens bearing masculine personal nemas: Agilus: St. Agil (Loire et Cher) Sanctus Agilus c. 1272, St. Ay (Loiret) parr. Sancti Agili 1202, St. Isle (Mayence) S. Aille 1452, S. Ysle 1554, Agilus was a saint who lived in Orléans in the Vth century; Autbertus: St. Aubert (Nord) de S. Autberto 1057, Autbertus was bishop of Cambrai VIIth century; Baldo: St. Baud (Indre et Loire) capp. S. Baldi VIth century, Baldo was a hermit who lived near Sens and died in 620 A.D. Baomadus: St. Bomer (E et L) S. Baomirus 1130, St. Bomer-les-Forges (Orne) eccl. S. Bomari 1199, Baomadus was a deacon in la Perche IVth century; Sigirannus: St. Cyran-du-Jambot (Indre) eccl. S. Sigiranni 1212, Sigirannus was a hermit in Berry in the VIIth century; Garimar: St. Germé (Gers), St. Germer (Oisè), St. Germier (Hte Garonne) (Gers) (D. Sevres) eccl. S. Germerii 959 (Tarn), one Garimar was bishop of Toulouse in the VIth century; another was an abbé in the north of France in the VIIth century; Mathric: St. Mery (S et M) de S. Mederico 1171, Mathric was a saint of Autun in the VIth century; Ricmar: St. Rigomer-des-Bois (Sarthe) eccl. S. Rigomeri de Silva c. 990, St. Rimay (L et Ch.) cellula S. Ricmiri 832, Ricmar was a hermit of Maine c. VIth - VIIth cc.; Sigismund: St. Sigismond (Loiret) puteus S. Sigismondi 843, (M et L) eccl. S. Sigismundi 1080-96, (Savoie) de S. Sigismundo c. 1170, (H. Savoie), (Vendée), St. Sigismond-de-Clermont (Charente Maritime) Sigismund was king of the Burgundians and was murdered by Chlodomir who had him thrown into a well in 523 A.D.; Theudric: St. Thierry (Mane) coenobium S. Theodorici 922, Theudric was founder of the monastery in the
VIth century; Othalric: St. Ulrich (H. Rhin) de S. Odalrico

The profound Germanic influence on the Gallic church is documented by the 420 place names which are dotted throughout France (v. fig 12, "Germanic saint's names"). They occur in varying degrees of frequency in almost all parts of the country. Few examples are located in the German provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. But unlike previous place-name types there is a relative balance in distribution between the halves of France north and south of the Loire. The region with the highest density of saint's names is Normandy of which four départements (Calvados,
Seine-Maritime, Orne, Eure) contain 61 specimens or $2.5 \times 1000$ km$^2$. The point of maximum concentration is Orne with 20 or $3.3 \times 1000$ km$^2$. In all, some eleven départements contain 10 or more specimens (indicated by vertical lines). The remaining seven are: Ille et Villaine with 11 ($1.6 \times 1000$ km$^2$), Mayenne with 11 ($0.1 \times 1000$ km$^2$), Charente Maritime with 12 ($1.7 \times 1000$ km$^2$), Dordogne with 11 ($1.2 \times 1000$ km$^2$), Creuse with 10 ($2.0 \times 1000$ km$^2$) and Saône et Loire with 11 ($1.3 \times 1000$ km$^2$).

The third class of toponyms within this category comprises Germanic appellatives and, to a minor degree, adjectives which occur in isolation. Such names are both testimonials to the need of Germans to designate their new environment$^{290}$ and evidence of the fusion of the Romance and Teutonic cultures, for a number of these words have been integrated into modern French or some of its dialects, i.e.: burg$\rightarrow$ bourg, sala$\rightarrow$salle, ham$\rightarrow$hameau, heriberga$\rightarrow$ auberge, hulis$\rightarrow$houx, haga$\rightarrow$ haie. But many words of Germanic origin have become 'fossilised' in French toponymy being neither understood nor employed in any other context by the local population. Thus a great variety of Germanic words not in common French usage have been preserved through toponymy. By no means can all the toponyms of this kind be attributed to the Germans because some will be due to linguistic borrowings, especially in dialectal usage.$^{291}$ As the appellatives and adjectives refer to specific domains of the natural surroundings and human activities or its products, the place-names will be examined under certain general rubrics: trees and plants, mountains and heights, bodies of water, habitations, and military terms and sundry land forms. In all cases the
primitive form of the Germanic word is indicated and explained:

A. trees and plants: buch, "beech": Bouc (M et M) in Boiaco, Bouch Xth century; busk, "wood": Le Bu-sur-Rouvres (Calv.) Le Busc 1373, Bousse (Moselle) Bous 1224, the former may also derive from Scandinavian busker; eika, "oak": Ecques (PdC) Eka IXth century; Eke (Nord) apud Hechas 1066; ask, "ash": Eix (Meuse) Ex 1049, Asse 1219, Aixe 1266; hag, "hedge": Hayes (Moselle) Heis 1192, Hecq (Nord) Hecques 1131, the latter name derives from modern German Heck; linta, "linden": Lynde (Nord Linde c. 1320; lundr, "Little wood": La Londe (Seine Mar) Landa 1337; hanap, "hemp": Hannapes (Aisne) villa Hanapio 845, (Ardennes) Hanape 1113; aphaltar, "apple tree": Le Veurdre (Allier) Avuldria 1399; rogo, "rye": Raon-aux-Bois (Vosges) Rua 1140, Ravou 1243, R-sur-Plaine (Vosges) Rawon sur Pleîne 1328; reke, "hedge": Recques-sur-Course (PdC) Rech 1224, R.-sur-Hem (PdC); rôr, "rush, reed": Rohr (B Rhin) Roraha IXth century, -aha subsequently disappeared.

B. mountains and heights: berg, "mountain": Berck (PdC) datum Bergis 1215, Bierk 1282, Berg (Moselle) Berge 915, (B Rhin) Bergue 1361, Bergues (Nord) Bergon 944, Bierges (Marne) Biergue 1158; buhil, "hillock": Boêlhe (Liège, Belgium) Boiles 1134-8, Buhl (B Rhin) (H Rhin) Buhile 1216, B.-Lorraine (Moselle) Bûle XVth century; hangr, "elevation": La Hogue (Calv.) Hoga 1077, (Manche), Les Hogues (Eure), La Hougue (Manche) Hoga 1062, Saint Vaast-la-Hougue (Manche); hûn, "height": Hon-Hergies (Nord) Hun 868.

C. Bodies of water: baki, "stream": Le Bac d'Erquinghem (Nord), Berry-au-Bac (Aisne), Choisy-au-Bac (Oise); bekkr,

D. habitations: būr, "hut, habitation": Beure (Doubs) Buyre 1349, Beyren (Moselle) Burias 762, Boeures-en-Othe (Yonne) Burs 1138, Buire (Aisne) Bures 1147, B.-au-Boir (PdC) Buyrae 1042, Bures XIIth century, B.-sur-l'Ancre (Somme), Bure (Meuse) Bura 1195, B.-les-Templiers (C d'or) Burae 887, Bure-les-Templiers XVIIIth century, Bures (Calv.) Bures 1082, Burum 1262, (Orne) de Buris 1242, (Seine Maritime) Bures 1026-7; bū, "residence, house": Beux (Moselle) Bū 1161, Beue 1404, Bus 1429, Bū (Ect.L) Beutum c. 1186; budh, "cabin": Le Bo (Calv.) Bos, Boos 1225, au Bū 1328, Boos (Seine Maritime) Bothus XIIth century; buurt, "village": Bourthes (PdC) Bortheem 811, Burtes 1069; skali, "small house": Ecalles-Alix (Seine Mar) Scalae, Esqualles XIIIth century, Ecalles (Seine Mar) Scalae XIIIth century; ham, "village": Le Ham (Calv) Le Han 1210, (Manche) Hams 1023-6, (Mayenne) Ham 832, Ham (Somme) Hammus 932, Ham-en-Artois (PdC) Hamma 887, H.-les-Moines (Ardennes) H.-sous-Varsberg (Moselle) Hamus 1181, H.-sur-Meuse (Adennes), Han-devant-Pierrepont (Meuse) Han 1656, H.-sur-Nied (Moselle) Hans 1239, Han (Met M) Arraye-et-Han,

E. military terms: burg, "fortification, stronghold", this term enjoyed great popularity during the castle-building feudal period. Here are some examples of the 38 specimens discovered in France: Bourg (Ardennes) Borc c. 1172, Bourg-en-Bresse (Ain) de Burgo 1187, Bourg (Belfort), (H Mane) Burgo 887, (Met T), B.-sur-Gironde (Gir.) de Burgo 1169, B.-de-Bigorre (H. Pyr.); helm, "helmet": Le Healme (Seine et Oise); wart, "lookout, fort": La Garde (B Alpes) La Gareda c. 1200, Garda c. 1300 (Char-Mar), Isère) Guarda XIith century; wahta, "guard, watch": Vaites (H Saône) de Vactis XIith century; Vaites (Doubs) Les Voetes, Voettes d'Ormont-Dessus 1310; werki, "fortifications": La Guerche (I et V) Wirchiae 1077, La G.-de-Bretagne (I et V) Wirchia XIith century, La G.-sur-l'Aubois (Cher) Guircia 1036, La Guierche (Sarthe) Wirchia 1090, Warcq (Ardennes), (Meuse) Warck 707.

F. sundry land forms: bruoch, "bog, swamp": Breuches (H Saône) Brouck (Mas) Brocchi 1178, Bruco 1236; dal, "rally":
Dasle (Doubs). Dala c. 1150; horwi, "swamp": Horion (Liège, Belgium) Hurion 862, Le Horps (Mayenne) Horp 1186, Les Horbes (Nord), La Hourbe (Aisne); hornja, "point of land": La Horgne (Ardennes) La Horuge 1319, Ménil-la-Horgne (Meuse) comitatu Horninse 965, Les Horgnes (Oise); riuti, "cleared land": Rhodes (Moselle) Rode 1397, Roeulx (Nord) Rueth 1143-63, Roeux (PdC) Rueth 1223, Rott (Bas Rhin), Rouhe (Doubs) Roha 1179, Ruitz (PdC) Ruith 1135; warid, "river island": Woerth (Bas Rhin) Werda 1219; wisa, "meadow, prairie": Wuisse (Moselle) Wissa 1092.

In all, 253 examples of Germanic single appellatives or adjectives have been collected from a search of such works as the Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France. The distribution map (fig 13 "Germanic single names-appellatives and adjectives") shows that toponyms of this type can be found in varying degrees almost everywhere in France. But it is definitely in the extreme northwestern and northeastern corners of the country, that is, in Artois-Picardy and Alsace-Lorraine that the largest numbers occur. Indeed in the five départements concerned fully 91 specimens are contained: Nord has the maximum density with 25 specimens (4.4 x 1000 km²), Pas de Calais has 17 (2.5 x 1000 km²), Haut Rhin has 14 (4.0 x 1000 km²), Bas Rhin has 16 (3.3 x 1000 km²) and Moselle has 19 (3.0 x 1000 km²). It is natural that the greatest number of these Germanic vocables should be concentrated in regions which were strongly Germanised. A cursory observation of the figures reveals that the largest concentrations are located above the Loire with nothing higher than a 3 occurring below that line.
A final class of toponyms consists of ethnic names, what Petri calls "Germanische Völkernamen", which recall the presence of individual German tribes on the soil of Gallia Romana. In a great many instances these place-names are Gallo-Roman creations designating nearly Barbarian settlements. These names may be broken down into two basic types: "pagi" names viz. those referring to regions, provinces or realms; and the names of "lieux habités" marking a locality inhabited by Germans. Quite a few such names would be quite ancient because they recall distinct Germanic groups who colonised Gallia well before the great invasions of the Vth century. Certainly few save those referring to Northmen or Flemings would be as recent as the Xth century. The 'pagi' names are a manifestation of the custom of a conquering race to replace the name used by the subject people to one reflecting the change in ownership. This is generally the name of the new overlords. One need only think of Britain, the ancient Celtic name of that island which later was superseded by England following the conquest. In Gallia, the old Latin or Gallo-Roman provinces came to be replaced by these political/racial names: Allemagne, from Latin "Alemannia", the name of modern France's eastern neighbour and a clear reference to the Alemanni: Bourgogne, Latin "Burgondia", the realm of the Burgundians; France, "Francia", the realm of the Franks; and finally the more recent name Normandie, "Normannia", realm of the Northmen. Another Germanic 'pagus' name Gothia did not survive beyond the XIIIth century because of the rivalry of the term Languedoc. Unlike the place-names, these regional names correspond to the areas settled by the great mass of a tribe.
The toponyms commemorate rather the establishment of "pockets" of individual tribes on Gallic territory. Some result from the settlement of Barbarians who were Roman allies, "foederati", in the period preceding the attack on Rome in 455 A.D. for example, the Emperor Probus settled groups of 50 to 60 Alemanni in Gaul and elsewhere in the Empire in order to neutralise potential or real enemies. Still others would have occupied parts of Gaul during the waves of incursions in the IVth and Vth centuries. No matter what the circumstances of occupation may be, these place-names continue to recall areas where once isolated bands of Germans lived. Within France one encounters single element toponyms which relate to some eleven different Germanic ethnic names: Allemans, Burgundians, Franks, Germans, Goths, Marcomans, Normans, Saxons, Suavians, Taifalians and Vandals. The following specimens have been arranged under the headings of the three branches of the Germanic peoples: the East Germans, the West Germans and the North Germans.

A. Germans the collective term for all the tribes: Germaine (Aisne) Germania 1135, (Marne) Germanium 1086, Germaines (H Marne) Germana 1230, Les Germains (Cher).

B. East Germans, Burgundians: Bourgogne (Marne) Burgondia 1120, Bourgoin (Isere) Burgundium 1183, Bourgoin XIIIth century; La Bourgonce (Vosges) capella...Burguntiae 1140, Bourgignons (Aube) Bulgundio bef. 854, Burgungnuns 1175, Bourguignon (Doubs), B.-les-Conflans (Hte Saône), B.-lès-la-Charité (Hte Saône), B.-lès-Morey (Hte Saône), B.-sous-Coucy (Aisne), B.-sous-Montbavin (Aisne), Les Bourgoins (Yonne), Bourgougnane (Lot et Gar); Goths: Goudet (H. Loire). Godit 870, Godet 875, eccl. Gothidi 877, Goudex (H. Garonne), Le Goudeix (Creuse), (Dordogne), Goudon
(H. Pyrénées), (H. Loire), Goudou (Dord), (H. Gar), (Lot), Gouts (Landes), G.-Rossignol (Dordogne) Guz Xth century, Goz MOO, Goutz (Gers), Goux (Doubs), (Gers), (Jura), G.-les-Usiers (Doubs)
Gueux (Marne) Gothi c. 850; Taifalians, a sub group of the Goths: Chauffailles (S et L) XIVth century, curatus de Chofalli bef. 1412, Tiffauges (Vendée) Tyfauges 1269, Tivauche (C d'or) 1046-8 villam qui Tivalgas vocabulum est, Touffailles (Tet G) Theufales IXth century; Vandals: Gandalou (T et G) Gandalor 1266-7, ecclesie de Gandalou 1305.

C. West Germans, Allemans: Les Allemands (Drôme), (H. Savoie). Allemagne (B. Alpes) Alemannia 1182, (Calv.) Alemannia 1097, L'Allemagne (Aube) Alemaine 1328, Aumagne (Char.-Mar.) Allemannia 1290, Allemanche-Launay-et-Soyer (Marne) Alemanche c. 1220, Alemêches (Orne) Alamannisca, Les Allemands (Doubs), (B. Alpes), (Gers), (Loire), (Vaucl.), Les Allemans (Ariège) de Alamanniis 1325, Allemans c. 980, (Marne) Allemannus 813, (L et G);
Franks: Francs-la-Française (Gironde), Frencq (PdC) Frencq 1042, Frenc 1112, French 1141, La Française (T et G), Fransèches (Creuse) Franciscas, Fransaches (Eure et Loire) Fransesches 1263, Franssaiches 1502, Francescas (Lot et Garonne), Francon (H. Garonne), Francou (T et G); Markomans, closely associated with the Bavarians: Marmagne (Cher) Marmannia 1030, (C d'or) Marcomania 747, Marmellae 1384, Miermaigne (E et L) Meremaigne 1250; Suavians, sub-group of the Alemans: Ecoivres (PdC) Esquaviae 1079, Squavae XIIth century; Ecoivres (PdC) Suavia 1150; Saxons: Sassogne (Nord), Sissonne (Aisne) Sessonias 1107, Suessonia 1141, Sisona 1210.

D. North Germans, Northmen: Normandel (Orne).
A map (fig. 14 "Germanic ethnic toponyms") details the location of the 74 toponyms referring to German colonies in France. The first characteristic of the distribution which strikes the observer is the nearly complete lack of such names in the Germanophone regions, especially in the Alemans' stronghold of Alsace-Lorraine. This appears to support the view that these toponyms mark islands of Germans in a sea of Gallo-Romans. Thus it is logical that no references to tribes which later settled Gallia in large numbers are to be found in those territories, i.e.: no references to the Alemanni occur in Alsace, and only one reference to the Franks occurs in northwestern France (département Nord, Pas de Calais). Actually, the ethnic place-names cover nearly the entire area of France. The north, centre and south of the country contain the most examples. The numerically strongest representations belong to three tribes: the Alemanni (18), the Goths (16) and the Burgundians (12) which together account for 62% of the total. Perhaps the repartition of the Aleman colonies through 15 départements located in widely distributed parts of the country may be attributed to the imperial land grants such as those of Emperor Probus in the 3rd century. The Burgundian and Gothic place-names, which seem to be concentrated in the zones formerly politically dominated by them (i.e.: in Franche-Comté for the Burgundians, in southwestern France for the Goths) are likely due to the limited and scattered colonisation of these peoples. Unlike the Alemans and Franks who were strong enough to entirely Germanise portions of Gallia, these East Germans spread themselves too thinly over their immense realms: "Au contraire les Burgondes et les Wisigots, qui dominaient des
fig 14  Germanic ethnic toponyms, "Germanische Völkernamen"
territoires immenses, n'étaient pas assez nombreux pour les germaniser..."298 As a closing remark, it is noteworthy that even minor Germanic peoples like the Marcomans, Suavians and Taifalians whose part in the conquest and settlement of Gallia is obscure at best are remembered in the toponymy of France.
C. Germanic Simple Names

Here are some examples of isolated anthroponyms appearing in Germanic geography: Alf (W. Germany), Alling (W. Germany), Frederika (Sweden), Ludvika (Sweden), Öding (W. Germany).

Rostaing, p. 66.


Lévy, p. 25.

Lot, Invasions, p. 252.

Common nouns used alone do occur quite often in the toponymy of various German nations: Aa (W. Germany)= auwja, "wet meadow"; Berg (Norway, Sweden)= berg, "mountain"; Bühl (W. Germany)= buhil, "hill"; Haus (Norway)= haus, "house"; Hof (W. Germany)= hof "farm"; Holm (Denmark, Norway, Sweden)= holm, "river island"; Horst (E. Germany, W. Germany, Netherlands)= hurst, "copse, thicket".

Nègre, p. 108.

Volkserbe, p. 901, map #38.

Lucien Musset regards this explanation for the creation of these names as reasonable: "Mais les établissements de peuples exotiques et inattendus ont plus de chance d'avoir attiré l'attention des Gaulois que ceux de peuples familiers.." p. 225.

v. Nègre, p. 98.

Ibid., p. 99.
296 Gröhler, Ursprung, p. 3.

297 "Lors des invasions, dans les régions occupées d'une manière extensive, si par exception les nouveaux venus restaient groupés en quelque point, ils formaient comme un îlot ethnique." Nègre, p. 99.

298 Ibid., p. 96.
D. Germano-Romance Place-Names Composed of Three Elements

Until now toponyms of one or two elements have been examined, however, the final category concerns those place-names made up of three elements: either a) anthroponym + suffix$^1$ + suffix$^2$ or b) anthroponym + suffix + appellative. The anthroponym is Germanic in all cases but the other elements may be hybrid Gallo-Roman as -in-iacum, -iacum-villa, -iacum-cortis or homogeneous Germanic as -ing-hem, -ing-hove, -ing-tun. Thus these names are testimonials to the fusion of two systems of toponymic formation: composition and derivation. The syntax is always of the so-called "type germanique". One immediately remarks the apparent similarity of form and meaning between these Gallo-Roman and Germanic combinations. According to an intriguing hypothesis of Maurits Gysseling, the feminine plural -iacas formations of North Gallia gave rise to the iaca-curtis, iaca-villa combinations in the VIth century. This Romance toponymic innovation then spread to the Germanophone lands beginning in the Pas de Calais region where an analogous transformation of inga $\rightarrow$ ingahaim arose. So vigorous was the new mode of toponymic formation that it not only caused the creation of new names but also changed some of the older -iacas, -ingas names to the compound forms: "Im bepaalde gewesten was de nieuwe namenmode zu krachtig dat ze ook de 5e eeuwse namen op -ingas umvormde tot -ingaheim..." Unfortunately the existence of -ing and -ingham place-names in German-speaking territories distant from France does raise doubts
about the validity of such a convenient theory. Whatever the truth behind the creation may be, the analogy between these formations remains striking.

The majority of the mixed Germano-Romance toponyms end in -iiniacum, iacumcurtis or -iacumvilla but there are also a few isolated examples of alternate combinations, i.e.: -iacum-mons, -onis-villa, -iacum-rivus -one-ica. These compound endings stem from the High Middle Ages subsequent to the Germanic occupation (cf. Verhulst p. 37). The -iiniacum ending is the subject of some disagreement. While Gysseling, Rostaing, Dauzat, and Nègre regard it as distinct from -iacum, Longnon does not. In a preliminary note to his list of -iiniacum names, Vincent warns that some of the examples may stem from anthroponyms terminating in -in: "Certains pourraient avoir comme base un nom d'homme en -in qui nous serait inconnu..." Plainly, the etymologisation of names exhibiting this ending is not an easy task. For the purposes of this paper it will be treated as a distinct, composite ending. For each of the endings mentioned above, a series of illustrative toponyms is provided. They are arranged alphabetically after the Germanic personal names which form their basis.

A. -iiniacum: Ado (p. 14; probably from adal -"noble"): Aigny (Marne) Adenaicus IXth century; Boso (P. 60; from bos-"mauvais"): Busigny (Nord) Busignies 1121; Giso (p. 110; probably from gisil-"stage"), Guiseniers (Eure) Gysiniacus 1025; Hampo (not in Morlet): Hampigny (Aube) Hampigni 1198; Harik (Haricus p. 128; from hari -"armée"): Harcigny (Aisne) de Harcignis 1120, Harcenaie 1135; Mundo (probably a hypocoristic form of munt -"protection", p. 170): Mondigny (Ardennes); Rumo
(probably a hypocoristic form of rum - "gloire", p. 191):
Remigny (Aisne) Ruminiacus 849, Romigny (Marne) Ruminiacum 879,
Remigny (Ardennes) de Rumigniaco 1216-17, (Somme); Sazzo (Sasso,
p. 194; from sahs - "Saxons"): Sassegnies (Nord) Saseniis 1142;
Saracho (p. 195; from sar - "armure"): Serquigny (Eure) Sarquignie
1206; Scatto (probably from scata - "ombre, obscurité", p. 196):
Xertigny (Vosges) de Scatiniaco VIth - XIIth cc., Xartigny 1409;
Wado (p. 212; from wad - "gorge, engagement") Vagney (Vosges) de
Wahiniaco Vainiaco XIth - XIIth cc.; Wando (probably from wand - 
1141; Werdo (p. 220; from werd - "digne, honorable"): Verdigny
(Cher) Verdiniacum 1159; Wiso (p. 228; from wis - "sage savant");
Vesancy (Ain) Vizencie c. 1200.

B. iacumcurtis: Allin (not listed but likely from ali -
"autre" p. 32): Hallignicourt (H. Marne) Aliniaca cortis 854-
58; Austhari (Ostreharius p. 47 from austr - "brillant" and hari -
"armée"): Austricourt (C. d'or) de Ostricurte bef. 1137; Bereheri
(Bereharius p. 52; from ber - "ours" and hari - "armée");
Béhéricourt (Oise) Behireicurtis 986; Hamo (p. 122; from haim -
"maison"): Homécourt (Met M). Hameicourt 1260; Haric (Haricus
p. 128; from hari - "épée" or "armée"): Achicourt (PdC) Haric-
cortis 1047, Huchicourt 1258; Landerich (Landericus p. 156;
from land - "pays, terre" and ric - "puissant"): Landrecourt
(Meuse) Landrezécourt 1573; Rado (p. 182; from rad - "avis,
conseil"): Récourt (H. Mane) Reheicourt 1163; Sigimer (p. 198;
from sig - "victoire" and mari - "célèbre, illustre"): Sommerécourt
(H. Marne) Semerecourt 1262; Trasmär (not in Morlet):
Tramecourt (PdC) Tramecurium 1191; Wino (probably Wini p. 227;
from wini - "ami"): Wignicourt (Ardennes).

C. -iacumvilla: Anno (p. 35; from an - "aïeul"): 

Annéville (H. Marne) Agnivilla XIVth century; Berno (p. 54; from bern - "ours"): Bernéville (PdC); Gunderich (Gundericus p. 118; from gund - "combat, lutte" and ric - "puissant"): Contrexéville (Vosges) Gundrecivilla 1213; Hari (p. 124; from hari - "armée"): Haréville (Vosges) Hareville 1289; Harréville-les-Chanteurs (H. Marne) Hareville c. 902, Harei villam 904; Run (from run - "mystère, secret" p. 101) Régnéville (Meuse) Roneivilla XIIth century, Rigneiville 1200; Walduff (probably Waldulfus p. 214; from wald - "gouverner, commander" and wulf - "loup"): Vaudéville (Meuse); Werimer (not in Morlet): Warméville (Marne) Warmeriivilla beg. XIth century.

Here are some unusual, miscellaneous combinations to be found: -one-isca Artonges (Aisne) Hertangie 1038, from Harto (probably Herdo p. 124; from hard - "rude",dur, intrépide"): -one-ing Campugnan (Gironde) alteration of Campunenxs 1360, from Campo (not listed in Morlet); -acumvillare Biefsvillers-lès-Bapaume (Pas de Calais) from Bito (Bita p. 57; from bid - "attendre, espérer"); -iacummons Haussignémont (Marne) Helceius mons 1032, from Halicho (not in Morlet); -incumrivus Bouffignereux (Aisne) Wulfiniauci rivus, Bulfiniauci rivus IXth century, from Wulfin (probably Wulfwinus p. 231; from wulf - "loup" and wini - "ami"); -onisvilla Palogneux (Loire) Poloigneu 1225, from Pallo (p. 51; from balo - "tourment, méchanceté"); -iscavilla Mënesqueville (Eure) Manecavilla 1272, from Manno (p. 167; from man - "homme").
The distribution of the -iniacum, iacumcurtis, iacumvilla names (v. fig. 15 "names in -iacacurtis, -iacavilla"; fig. 16 "names in -iniacum") shows a remarkable similarity. In accord with Maurits Gysseling's theory that the evolution of toponyms of the iacas type to the compound formations with -villa and -cortis took place largely in Artois-Ponthieu, Champagne and Lorraine the heaviest concentrations of both types of names are found in just these regions. For -iniacum the point of greatest density falls on the département Nord with 10 specimens or 1.7 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2 whilst the -iacum,cortis/villa names are most numerous in Haute Marne (7 specimens; 1.1 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2) and Aisne (7; 1.0 \times 1000 \text{ km}^2). Moreover the majority of both name types are located north of the Seine, particularly in the case of the -iacumcortis/villa group.

There are three principal Germanic compounds: -ingheim, -ingtun and -inghove. Of the three the -ingheim place-names are the most numerous and have been the source of much scholarly interest and speculation. It is generally thought that this formation is due to the Saxons who colonised the coastal area of the départements Pas de Calais and Nord, the "litus saxonicus", where such names abound. However, Vincent attributes their creation rather to Frankish activity (v. p. 146 §334). Vincent, Gamillscheg and Gysseling hold that -ingheim toponyms are not as old as their -ingen cousins and represent a more recent influx of Germans into these areas. In his Ausgewählte Aufsätze Gamillscheg expounds his hypothesis of later migrations "spätere Zu wanderung", of Teutons into Gallia after the great invasions of the Vth century. He maintains that the -ingheim names are
Fig 15  Names in -acacuris, -iacavilla:

Legend:
- 5-9 names
- 10-19 names
- 20-39 names
- Approximate zone of these compounds

49 names total.
evidence of a later Saxon influx: "J'ai supposé que la population à laquelle les noms en -inghêm sont dus, était d'origine saxonne, pénétrée en France bien après la première occupation saxonne..."^304 He also reminds the reader that this was the favourite toponymic formation of the Saxons in England as such names as Birmingham and Framlingham demonstrate. Another fascinating hypothesis is offered by Gysseling who holds that ingheim arose in the Pas de Calais and from there spread throughout the Germanised regions of Flanders, Brabant and Holland, even transforming some of the older ingen names. He further suggests that the ingheim formations may have been taken to England from Pas de Calais: "Is er uit de Pas de Calais met zijn velerlei Engelse inslag, ook uitstraling geweest naar Engeland?"^307 These different, sometimes contradictory theories demonstrate the complex nature of the -ingheim etymology. At the least one can reasonably assume that it is indeed of Saxon origin and that it is a newer formation than that of the -ingen names.

The ending -ingtun occurs largely in the Le Bessin region, specifically centred around the city of Boulogne, where it indicates the presence of a former Saxon colony. It was Longnon who made this important find through toponymic research: "La colonie saxonne la plus caractéristique, et dont l'histoire ne fait pas mention, est celle du Boulonnais dont la découverte est une des plus frappantes de la toponymie."^308 The characteristics of this ending, its form, geographical extension, Saxon origin seem to support the claim that -ingheim derives from a Saxon source. The final Germanic compound -inghove contains the Low
German or Flemish form of -hof "farm". All three endings share
the formation: Germanic anthroponym + -ingheim/-tun/-hove and
are limited to the départements Pas de Calais and Nord in France.
The most popular "graphies" for -ingheim, in the northwest are,
-ingham, -ingham, inghien, -eghem. Below are some examples of
these compound endings:

A. -ingheim: Audo (p. 45; from aud - "richesse, prospérité"):
Audinghem (PdC) Otidinghem Xth century; Bavilo (p. 49; from an
obscure root): Balinghem (PdC) Bavelengehen 1084, Balinghem
1127; Baso (p. 49; from badu - "combat"): Bazinghem (PdC)
Basingahem 877; Blathar (p. 58; from blad - "épée"): Blaringhem
(Nord) Bladringhem 1069; Boso (p. 60; from bos - "mauvais"): 
Boëseghem (Nord) Buosingahem, Busingahem 877; Hafilo (not in
Morlet): Halinghen (PdC) Havelingneham 1134; Huning (Huninga
p. 141; from hun - "ours"): Heuringhem (PdC) Huringhem 1171,
Hueringhem 1274; Hundo (p. 141; from hund - "chien"): Hondeghem
(Nord) Hundrigehem c 1150; Liubilo (probably a hypocoristic form
of liub - "cher, aimé"): Leulinghem (PdC) Loeulinghehen 1157,
Lulinghem 1179; Lindo (p. 162; from lind - "bouchier"): 
Linghen (PdC) Leingehem 1142, Leudingahem 1157; Manolf (Manulfus
p. 167; from man - "homme" and wulf - "loup"): Maninghem (PdC)
Menolvingahem 877, Maninghehem 1142; Maninghem-Wimille (PdC)
Manengehem 1208; Racco (not in Morlet): Racquinghem (PdC)
Rakingere 1207; Rumo (doubtless from rum - "gloire"): Ruminghem
(PdC) Rumingahem 850; Waldhar (Waltharius p. 213; from wald -
gouverner, commander" and hari - "armée"): Vaudringham (PdC)
Vualdringahem 867; Waco "Wacho p. 211; from wac/wacar - "veiller"): 
Wacquinghem (PdC) Wakingehem 1208.
B. **ingtūn**: Allo (p. 28; from **al** - "tout"): Alincthun (PdC) Alinthun 1173, Alinthetun 1199; Audo (p. 45; from **aud** - "richesse prospérité"): Audinctun (PdC) Odingatun 1016; Bago (p. 50; from **bag** - "dispute"): Baincthun (PdC) Bagingatun 811; Chuno (p. 153; from **kunni** - "famille, race"): Connincthun (PdC) Coninghetun 1298; Godo (p. 114; from **god** - "bon"): Godincthun (PdC) Godingetuna 1208; Landar (Landarius p. 156; from **land** - "terre, pays" and **hari** - "épée"): Landrethun-le-Nord (PdC) Landringetun 1119, Landrethun-lez-Ardres (PdC) Landringetun 1084; Wado (p. 212; from **wad** - "gage, engagement"): Wadenthun (PdC) Wadingatun 1084.

C. **-inghove**: Bavo (p. 47): Bavinchove (Nord) Bavincove 1114; Manno (p. 167; from **man** - "homme"): Menchoffen (B Rhin) Maminchoven (=Mann) 779, Manicoffa 798; Pallo (Puolo p. 60; from **bol** - "ami, frere"): Polincove (PdC) Pollingehove 1069; Fulchar (Fulcharius p. 95; from **fulc** - "peuple" and **hari** - "épée"): Volkeringkhove (Nord) Folcringuehove 1164.

The distribution of the Germanic compound endings **-ingheim**, **-ingtūn**, and **-inghove** is extremely limited. In fact the maps (figs. 17-19) show that all but one of the 105 specimens occur within the borders of the northern départements of Nord and Pas de Calais. The figures for the break-down are as follows: of 83 **-ingheim** names found in France 70 are in Pas de Calais (10.6 x 1000 km$^2$) and 13 in Nord (2.3 x 1000 km$^2$), all the 17 **-ingtūn** names occur in Pas de Calais yielding a density of 2.6 x 1000 km$^2$, of the 4 **-inghove** names only one is found outside the extreme northwest corner of France and that is Menchoffen in Bas Rhin which bears the High German **-hof** rather than **-hove.** This narrow
Fig. 17 Names in *ingenheim*:

Legend:
- 5-9 names
- 10-49 names
- 50+ names

83 names total
Fig 18 Boulenois Saxon Colony

Legend:
- ingehem •
- ıngtuna •

Totals:
34 ingehem names
9 ıngtuna
Fig. 19 Names in -inghove, -inglun:
distribution tends to support the view that these creations are Saxon since historians recognise that this zone was once settled by colonists of that tribe. Why do such names not occur elsewhere in France? The map of the Boulenois area (fig. 18 "Boulenois Saxon colony") shows how the -ingheim and -inatûn names cluster around Boulogne and environs. Even the littoral area of Basse-Normandie where some Saxon settlement took place there are no such names to be found although -heim and -tun names alone are encountered. Perhaps Gamillscheg's theory of a "Nachwanderung", a post-migration, of Saxons may account for these peculiar formations occurring only in the northwest.
D. Germano-Romance Place-Names Composed of Three Elements

299 In Zeugnis der Ortsnamen (p. 142), Petri points out that F. Draye rejects the notion that the -ingen, -heim, -ingheim names of north France are due to the influence of parallel Romance names because such toponyms occur in German lands far from France.

300 Verhulst, p. 37.

301 He does however include some toponyms in -iniacum in his treatment of the -acos ending, i.e., Herbigny (Ardennes) which he attributes to a Latin anthroponym in -in viz. Albinianus. (p. 78 §203) Dauzat and Rostaing say rather that this toponym derives from the Germanic personal name Herbo. Dictionnaire étymol, p. 348.

302 Vincent, p. 168 §398.

303 Le Bessin region which the Saxons settled en masse was called "Otlinga Saxonia", noble Saxony, and it remained unassimilated till the IXth century, Lot, Invasions, p. 95.

304 Gamillscheg's theory has not been accepted by some scholars Wartburg feels that the ingheim names are not of such a recent date: "Die ganzen großen Gruppen wie ingheim usw. die er ihnen zuschiebt, sind nicht so spät erst entstanden ("Fränkische Siedlung" p. 299.) Jan Lindemans regards the names as being the result of a Gallic Frankish influx in 370 A.D., Gamillscheg, p. 46.

305 Gamillscheg, p. 47.

306 Ibid., p. 30.
The Saxons may indeed have taken the -ingheim ending from Le Bessin to England because they settled in northern France before they went to Britain. Ferdinand Lot explains: "Enfin, à une époque indécise, les Saxons, avant de faire la conquête de la Grande Bretagne, se sont établis sur les points de la Gaule". Ferdinand Lot, Invasions, p. 95.

Dauzat, Noms, p. 145.
III. Conclusions

This study has attempted to offer an overview of both the state of research and the principal questions concerning the etymologies and significance of the Germanic elements in the place-names of France. The contrastive, comparative analysis of the work done from the XIXth century to the middle 1960's by leading specialists acquaints one with the various, sometimes conflicting, hypotheses and the direction and scope of research on the Germanic contribution to French toponymy. This survey also clearly points out the need for much more research in order to resolve some of the problems peculiar to this field: the polemic surrounding the meaning and function of the -ing suffix, the disputed origin of the -ingheim compound, the difficulty of distinguishing between -incos and -ingos names, the uncertain cause of the Germanic-type syntax in the hybrid Germano-Romance toponyms, the problem of confusion between -ham and -heim, and the difficulty of distinguishing some Saxon from Norse names in Normandy due to the similarity of the dialects etc., etc. All these difficulties are revealed in the detailed presentation of this "état présent".

The second part of the work deals directly with four main place-name categories which encompass all the Germanic elements. It is designed to synthesise the work of the specialists on special place-name types, to systematically present and discuss the categories and their examples, and to offer my own perceptions based on both a detailed consideration of the different aspects of a particular question and the extent and significance of geographical distribution which result from the laborious
collection of hundreds of place-name specimens. The distributions which constitute the greater part of my contribution are expressed in two ways: in terms of the incidence of a toponymic genre in an area of one thousand square kilometres per département or on the nineteen different distribution maps detailing the actual numbers occurring in each département with the zones of greatest concentrations highlighted. The generous lists of toponyms have been compiled to best illustrate the categories.

From an historical perspective I have endeavoured through toponymy to show the profound and lasting influence which the Germans' language and culture had on France. The various partially or wholly Germanic place-names document the social and political dominance of the Teutonic race over Gallia Romana from the Vth century till the feudal period. For this reason I included the feudal formations such as those in -burg and the saints' names which specialists generally treat separately. It is undeniable that the German idioms have contributed quite a number of words, especially appellatives and adjectives, to both French toponymy and French dialects while the Teutonic onomasticon has contributed many personal names which often still enjoy popularity with the French people, i.e., such names as Richard, Albert, Gérard, Louis etc. Moreover toponymic evidence is a valuable indicator of the existence and a gauge of the strength of Germanic settlement in ancient Gallia. A celebrated example is the discovery of extensive Saxon colonisation in the Boulenois area by means of an analysis of the -ingheim, -ingtun, -tun names. In this case, toponymy was instrumental in uncovering an important historical fact because place-names alone attested to the long-
forgotten presence of Saxon colonists in the area. The great value of place-names to historical research is their "fossilised" nature; when everything else about a civilisation or people has passed away, its memory is preserved in toponymy. This idea finds beautiful, poetical expression in these lines composed by Wordsworth:

Mark! how all things swerve
From their known course, or vanish like a dream
Another language speaks from coast to coast;
Only perchance some melancholy stream
And some indignant hills old names preserve,
When laws, and creeds, and people are lost!

What remains to be done in this field? A great deal of further research must be undertaken if one wishes to gain a reasonably accurate idea of the complete Germanic contribution to French toponymy. This study was restricted to "lieux habités" but a huge, unexplored world awaits the toponymist in microtoponymy, the realm of field names, and to a lesser extent regarding river and mountain names. Only when all these areas have been well studied, specimens collected and etymologised, and distributions established, will the full scope of the Germanic contribution be known.
IV. Bibliography

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Books (continued)


Articles


Articles (continued)


