



HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

Hugvísindasvið

We need to talk about Gefjun

Toward a new etymology of an Old Icelandic theonym

Ritgerð til MA-prófs í Viking and Medieval Norse Studies

Kevin French

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Abstract

The name of a deity often reveals something of their character, and can shed light on obscure elements in the mythology. Unfortunately the prehistory of a word is itself often obscure, and care must be taken not to project a meaning onto a word that was never truly there. The goddess name *Gefjun* has long been considered to mean ‘the giving one’, and the goddess interpreted as a generous deity of vegetation, but the superficial similarity of the name to the word *gefa* v. ‘to give’ is not reason enough to come to such a conclusion. As Sturtevant (1952, 166—7) pointed out, the root-final *j* in *Gefjun* would have caused *i*-umlaut of the root vowel, indicating an earlier **a*. There is much evidence to suggest a connection to OI *gōfugr* adj. ‘noble’ and Goth. *gabei* f. ‘riches’ but the nature of that connection is unclear. One possibility is that the name *Gefjun* is a deverbal from an unattested **gefja*, pret. **gefjaði*. Another is that it is a “Hoffmann formation” derived by the same manner as *Óðinn*, *þjóðann*, and possibly some goddess names as well. This essay considers the etymology of *Gefjun* through comparative linguistics and investigation of Icelandic manuscript sources. In the end it is concluded that the word is most likely a Hoffmann formation meaning ‘she who rules/pertains to **gabi*’, and possible meanings of **gabi* are considered.

Ágrip

Nöfn á goðum lýsir oftast einhverju úr skapgerð goðanna og geta skýrt goðsöguleg efni sem annars væru margbrotið og villandi. Því miður getur frumþýðing orðs stundum verið hulin sjálf og það er hætt á að sú merking sem finnst hafi aldrei verið til í alvörunni. Gyðjunafnið *Gefjun* hefur lengi verið talið þýða ‘sú sem gefur’ og þess vegna er *Gefjun* talin gjafmild gróðurgyðja, en yfirborðssamanburður orðsins *Gefjun* og sagnorðsins *gefa* er ekki ástæða til að halda þeirri kenningu til streitu. Eins og Sturtevant (1952, 166—7) benti á, bókstafurinn *j* sem stendur í enda stofnsins hefði valdið *i*-hljóðvarpi rótarinnar og vísar til frumnorrænnar **a*. Til er mörg rök fyrir að *Gefjun* sé skyld forníslenska orðinu *gōfugr* og gotneska orðinu *gabei* f. ‘auður’ en sú tenging er ekki skýr. Það má vera að nafnið *Gefjun* sé leitt af sagnorði sem hefur ekki haldist í forníslensku en hefði verið **gefja*, þt. **gefjaði*. Annar möguleiki er sá að *Gefjun* sé “Hoffmann-myndun” og formað með líkum hætti og *Óðinn*, *þjóðann* og kannski önnur gyðjunöfn. Þessi ritgerð lítur á orðsifjar nafnsins *Gefjun* með því að nota samanburðarmálfræði og rannsóknir á handritum. Í lok ritgerðar er það niðurstaðan að orðið sé líklegast Hoffmann-myndun og þýðir ‘sú sem ræður/tengist **gabi*’, og mögulegar þýðingar orðsins ‘**gabi*’ eru ígrundaðar.

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List of Abbreviations

acc.	accusative	ODan.	Old Danish
adj.	adjective	OE	Old English
adv.	adverb	OF	Old Frisian
c.	common gender	OGut.	Old Gutnish
cf.	confer	OHG	Old High German
Dan.	Danish	OI	Old Icelandic
dat.	dative	OIr.	Old Irish
f.	feminine	OS	Old Saxon
Far.	Faroese	OSw.	Old Swedish
gen.	genitive	PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
Goth.	Gothic	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Hitt.	Hittite	pl.	plural
Lat.	Latin	PN	Proto-Norse
Lith.	Lithuanian	sing.	singular
m.	masculine	Sw.	Swedish
MLG	Middle Low German	v.	verb
n.	neuter	pret.	preterite
NNo.	Nynorsk	pres.	present
No.	Norwegian		
nom.	nominative		

1. Introduction

In *Gylfaginning* chapter thirty-five,¹ the reader is introduced to fourteen Old Norse goddesses, many of whom are not otherwise described in the mythology. It is clear that the author, ostensibly Snorri Sturluson, knows much more about some of these figures than others, and for eight of these goddesses he supports his claims about who they were by connecting their name to a word that was contemporary to his own language. For example, the name of the goddess Lofn, who he says arranges marriages that were previously forbidden, is said to be the origin of Icelandic *lof* ‘praise’, because she is held in such high esteem by the benefactors of her divine intervention (ed. Faulkes 1998, 29). Snorri’s examples of folk-etymology are not taken seriously these days, but the study of linguistics has come a long way since his time, and the careful application of historical linguistics may be able to reveal lost information about the names of deities and in turn, the deities to whom the names were given.

The relationship, or at least possibility of a relationship, between the conception of a deity and the name by which the god is known (its *theonym*) has a long history in the study of Norse deities. Perhaps the most famous example is Adam of Breman’s definition of the word *Wodan*, “id est furor” (‘that is, furor’; ed. Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani 1876, 174–7), corresponding to Icelandic *Óðinn* and supported by the god’s associations with battle, magic,

¹ All references to *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál* (including the *Nafnaþulur*) utilize the editions by Anthony Faulkes (1998a and 1998b) unless otherwise specified.

and poetic inspiration. The name *Freyr*, cognate to Old English *freā*, meaning ‘lord’ (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 208 [*Freyr*]; Bosworth 1921, 331) and indeed Freyr is portrayed in close mythological proximity to powerful human rulers, specifically the Ynglingar dynasty in *Heimskringla* (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1941). These are examples where a connection between theonym and conception of the deity is demonstrated with narrative evidence, and it follows that if a scholar can interpret the names of other figures whose possible roles in pre-Christian religion are poorly documented, such as Týr, it might be possible to discern attributes which are not recorded in the primary sources. Indeed, Þórr, who is widely recognized as the thunder god and whose name is cognate to English *thunder*, is hardly discernible as related to thunder by Old Icelandic mythology alone (Lieberman 2012, 8). Some very enigmatic deities such as Loki and Heimdallr have inspired a great variety of different theories and interpretations due to the obscurity of their names’ etymologies.²

Though the goddess Gefjun might justifiably be called enigmatic, the etymology of her name is not generally taken to contribute to the confusion. A definition of exactly or nearly ‘the giving one’ seems to be taken for granted by the majority of scholarship.³ This proposal holds that the word *Gefjun* is derived from the verb *gefa* ‘to give,’ and reflects a function related to the fertility of the

² A comprehensive overview of etymological research into the name *Loki* is presented in “Snorri and Saxo on Útgardaloki, with Notes on Loki Laufeyjarson's Character, Career, and Name” by Anatoly Lieberman ([1992] 1994); for *Heimdallr* see for example: Dronke 1997, 107.

³ See for example Olrik 1910, Clunies Ross 1978, Simek 1993, Davidson 1996, and others.

earth (Clunies Ross 1978, 153; Simek 1993, 101—2 [*Gefjon*]). Additionally, the goddess Freyja can also be referred to by the name *Gefn*, often taken to be identical in meaning to *Gefjun* and possibly revealing a common origin of the two goddesses which was artificially split by later traditions. There is a problem, however. In 1952, Albert Morey Sturtevant wrote a short article demonstrating that unlike the word *gefa*, the root vowel *e* in the word *Gefjun* can best be explained as deriving from an earlier **a*, which arrived at its present state by means of *i*-umlaut, triggered by the following *j* (Sturtevant 1952, 166—7. A Proto-Norse vowel **e* in this position would be expected to yield OI **Gifjun*. Compare for example *þilja* v. ‘to cover with boards’, which shares a root with *þel* n. ‘inner wool’ and OE *þel* n. ‘plank’, and can be reconstructed to a Proto Germanic. **þeljan-*. As a result, the first portion of the name is best considered descended from a PN, and ultimately PGmc. **gabj-*. This appears to be related to names appearing in Romano-Germanic devotional inscriptions dedicated to the *Gabiae*, *Alagabiae*, and others in West Germanic-speaking areas, primarily in the Rhine region of modern Germany (Beck 2009, 66—8). These names or name components featuring “Gabi” have traditionally been interpreted the same way as *Gefjun*, to mean ‘givers’ (Beck 2009, 66—8; Neumann [1987] 2008, 263), even in this environment of greater phonological transparency. While it is possible that the words *Gefjun* and *gefa* are related in some way, the nature of that connection is far from transparent, and a direct derivation must be considered untenable.

The objective of the present work is a reanalysis of the name *Gefjun*. Considering the relationship that tends to be observable between deities and their names, a description of Gefjun in Norse mythology and its implications for Germanic pre-Christian religion will be discussed in chapter two, though a thorough analysis of the actual goddess herself is a subject deserving of its own dedicated study and will herein be done only insofar as it is useful to explaining the name.

Chapter three is an investigation of Germanic word-formation relating to feminine substantives ending in *-n*. Two methods of derivations in particular are investigated in close detail, as awareness of their formation and function is necessary throughout the rest of the paper. The first of these is the derivation of abstract substantives from verbs, especially weak verbs, such as *skipun* f. ‘order, arrangement’ from *skipa* v. ‘to arrange’. Additionally, those substantives which derive from *ō*-verbs are analyzed for the orthographic representation of their unstressed vowel. The second method of word-formation is the thematicized “Hoffmann suffix”, an Indo-European morpheme that was productive in the formation of both male and female deity names, among other things, which has reflexes in many Indo-European languages. The chapters which follow will make frequent use of information presented in chapter three.

In chapter four, other goddess names in Old Icelandic and other Germanic sources will also be analyzed, and again, mythological information will only be utilized as a means to support a general understanding of the formation of their names. The first half of the chapter categorizes Old Icelandic goddess names by

the endings *-un*, *-yn*, and *-n*, and the second half examines West Germanic votive epigraphy, particularly names of goddesses to which inscriptions were dedicated in the first few centuries, A.D., which may be linguistically related to the goddess names analyzed in the first half of the chapter.

In chapter five, the word *Gefjun* and its attestations in Old Icelandic manuscripts will be examined in close detail. Attention is paid specifically to the representation of the vowels and to the inflectional morphology. It is found that a disproportionate amount of attestations represent the second-syllable vowel with the letter “o” when compared to other instances of second-syllable unstressed “u” such as deverbal abstracts observed in section 3.1.3.

In the sixth chapter an attempt is made to describe the etymology of *Gefjun*. It begins with an analysis of the first component of the word, *gefi-*, by considering evidence within Old Icelandic and other Germanic languages, and then also within a broader Indo-European perspective. Then all evidence gathered in previous chapters is utilized in attempt a reconstruction of the fully-formed name that would later develop into Old Icelandic *Gefjun*. It is concluded that the most likely Proto-Norse form is **gabjanu*, and that it was formed by means of a Germanic reflex of the thematicized Hoffmann suffix. Possible meanings are considered but full confidence in a precise definition remains elusive.

In the concluding chapter, the implications of the reconstruction proposed in the previous chapter are considered in relation to the mythological figure Gefjun, as well as the possible relationship between the names *Gefjun* and

Gefn. A situation is proposed whereby the two names could share a common origin, but uncertainty regarding the etymology of *Gefn* prevents a final decision from being made.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to explain that, for lack of certainty regarding the origin of the name, *Gefjun* is herein rendered following standard normalization of Old Icelandic, identically to the form found in the *Íslenzk Fornrit* edition of *Heimskringla* (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1941). The name appears to be made up of two parts which will herein be referred to as the “root” and the “suffix”, which unless otherwise specified are considered to correspond to *Gefj-* and *-un*, respectively. It is important to be aware that this is a matter of convenience rather than an expression of belief concerning the formation of the name. Although *Gefj|un* does seem to be the most likely segmentation of the word, to analyze the boundary as *Gef|jun* is not impossible, nor is it certain that the final part of the word is indeed a suffix.

2. Gefjun in Mythology

2.1. Gefjun in Old Icelandic Sources

Before analyzing the word *Gefjun*, it is productive to discuss the mythological figure to whom it is attached.

2.1.1. The Plowing of Sjælland

Gefjun is attested in a verse attributed to Bragi inn gamli Boddason, quoted both in *Gylfaginning* and *Ynglinga saga*. The verse as normalized and translated by Margaret Clunies Ross (1978, 155—6) is as follows:

Gefiun dró frá Gylfa	‘Gefjon, rejoicing in her patrimony,
gløð, diúprøðul, óðla,	deeply wise, drew Denmark’s
– svát af rennirauknum	increase from Gylfi, so that the
rauk – Danmarkar auka.	hauling beasts of burden steamed.
Bóru oxn ok átta	The oxen had four heads and eight
ennitingl, þars gingu	forehead-ornaments (<i>tingl</i>), where
fir vineyiar víðri	they went before the extensive
valrauf, fiogur haufuð.	plunder of the meadow-island.’

Details of the verse are subject to some debate. Manuscript variants make it difficult to determine the identity of the word here given as *óðla* and interpreted as ‘patrimony’. The meaning of *djúprøðull* is also uncertain; Hilda Ellis Davidson (1999, 54) translated it ‘deep circle of land’. Though some details are debateable, the most important parts are easily discernible. Gefjun took something valuable, most likely fruitful land, from Gylfi by means of four oxen, who greatly exerted themselves. This was an explicitly aggressive act, indicated

by the use of the word *valrauf* ‘spoils, robbing the slain (in battle)’, and Denmark benefited or literally grew as a result.

Gylfaginning and *Ynglinga saga* add context, differing slightly in their accounts but not conflicting. *Gylfaginning* begins as follows:

Gylfi konungr réð þar lǫndum er nú heitir Svíþjóð. Frá honum er þat sagt at hann gaf einni farandi konu at launum skemtunar sinnar eitt plógsland í ríki sínu þat er fjórir oxn drægi upp dag ok nótt. En sú kona var ein af Ása ætt. Hon er nefnd Gefjun. Hon tók fjóra oxn norðan ór Jötunheimum, en þat váru synir jötuns ok hennar, ok setti þá fyrir plóg. En plógrinn gekk svá hart ok djúpt at upp leysti landit, ok drógu oxnir þat land út á hafit ok vestr ok námu staðar í sundi nokkvoru. Þar setti Gefjun landit ok gaf nafn ok kallaði Selund. Ok þar sem landit hafði upp gengit var þar eptir vatn; þat er nú Løgrinn kallaðr í Svíþjóð. Ok liggja svá víkr í Leginum sem nes í Selundi. (ed. Faulkes 2005, 7)

King Gylfi ruled that land which is now called Sweden. Of him it is said that he gave a wandering woman, in exchange for her entertainment, a plowland in his kingdom which four oxen could drag up in a day and a night. But that woman was one of the Æsir. She is called Gefjun. She took four oxen from the north out of Jötunheimar, and they were her sons with a giant, and set them before the plow. And the plow went so hard and deep that the land came free, and the oxen dragged the land out into the sea and westward, and claimed a place in some sound. Gefjun set the land there and named it, and called it Selund (Sjælland). And there where the land had come up was left a lake; that is now called Løgrinn (‘The lake’) in Sweden. And the inlets in Løgrinn lay as the headlands on Selund.’ (author’s translation)

The story as it stands in *Ynglinga saga* chapter is as follows:

Þá sendi hann Gefjun norðr yfir sundit í landaleitan. Þá kom hon til Gylfa, ok gaf hann henni eitt plógsland. Þá fór hon í Jötunheima ok gat þar fjóra sonu við jötni nokkurum. Hon brá þeim í yxnalíki ok færði þá fyrir plóginn ok dró landit út á hafit ok vestr gegnt Óðinsey, ok er þat kǫlluð Selund. Þar byggði hon síðan. Hennar fekk Skjöldr, sonr Óðins. Þau bjoggu at Hleiðru. Þar er vatn eða sjár eptir. Þat er kallat Løgrinn. Svá liggja firðir í Leginum sem nes í Selundi. (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 2002, 14-15)

Then he [Óðinn] sent Gefjun north over the sound to search for land. She came then to Gylfi, and he gave her one plowland. Then she went to Jötunheimar and begat four sons with some jötnunn; she changed them into the shape of oxen, and brought them before the plow and dragged the land out into the sea and west across from Óðinsey, and it is called Selund; she settled there after that. She was married by Skjöldr, son of Óðinn; they lived at Hleiðra (Lejre). There is a lake or sea left behind. It is called *Løgrinn* ('the lake'). The fjords in Løgrinn lay as the headlands in Selund. (author's translation)

The events described in *Gylfaginning* take place within the frame narrative; that is, treated as taking place within human history. At this point in the story, Gefjun is a mortal human woman – albeit with great skill in magic – rather than an actual goddess such as how she is later described by Hárr, Jafnhárr, and Þriði. *Gylfaginning* explains that Gefjun came to Gylfi, the king of Sweden, disguised as a beggar woman (*farandi kona*) and offered *skemtun* 'entertainment' in exchange for one plowland, the amount of land which she could plow in one day and one night. She used four oxen, who were actually her sons with an anonymous giant. When they pulled the plow, it dug so wide and deep that the

land detached and they dragged it into the sea, where it became the island of Själland in Denmark. *Ynglinga saga* presents the additional details that this was done under Óðinn's instructions, and that Gefjun went to *Jötunheimar* after making this arrangement with Gylfi specifically to beget children for this purpose. It also adds that she then married Óðinn's son Skjöldr and they settled at Lejre, where they became the progenitors of the *Skjöldungar* dynasty. This story is also told in *Völsungsrímur* (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1896, 44–45 [strophes 29–37]), the beginning of which is built on *Prologus*, *Gylfaginning*, and *Heimskringla*. There is little variation from Snorri's versions of the story and the *ríma* is not a reliable source for pre-Christian mythology, as it contains innovations or mistakes such as the assertion that Gefjun eventually marries Baldr (strophe 36)⁴ and conflating Njörðr and Ægir (strophe 53).

As Davidson (1999, 53) points out, Gefjun's ploughing bears striking resemblance to the land-claim of Þorgerðr in the *Hauksbók*, AM 371 4to version of *Landnámabók*, chapter 276:

Ásbjörn hét maðr, son Heyangrs-Bjarnar. Hann andaðisk í Íslands hafi þá er hann vildi út fara, en Þorgerðr, kona hans, fór út ok synir þeirra. En þa er mælt, at kona skyldi eigi víðara nema land en leiða mætti kvígu tvævetra vorlangan dag sólsetra í millum, hálfstalit⁵ naut ok haft vel. (normalized by the author from the text of ed. Finnur Jónsson, 1892, 98–99)

⁴ Perhaps the author's interpretation of the *sveinn inn hvíti* line from *Lokasenna* 20; see below.

⁵ The meaning of *hálfstalit* is not clear; it appears to be a hapax, but may be an error for *hálfstalpat* which would mean 'half-adolescent' (Jón Sigurðsson, ed. 1943, 264 f. 7).

There was a man named Ásbjörn, the son of Heyanгр-Björn. He died in Iceland's sea while traveling [to Iceland], but his wife Þorgerðr went with their sons. But it is said that a woman should not claim more land than that around which she could lead a well-burdened two-winter-old heifer in an autumn-long day. (author's translation)

Exactly what to make of the resemblance is difficult to say, but it seems that the myth of Gefjun may make use of symbolic actions relating to a broader concept of land-ownership, especially with regard to women (see Clunies Ross 1998, 123 on gender distinction in land-claims; Mundal 1990, 309 on Gefjun doing things typical of male deities).

2.1.2. *Gylfaginning* list of Ásynjur

Later in *Gylfaginning*, Gefjun is described in a list of goddesses. All that is said is: *Fjórða er Gefjun. Hon er mǽr, ok henni þjóna þær, er meyjar andask*. 'The fourth is Gefjun. She is a maiden, and those who die as maidens serve her' (ed. Faulkes 2005, 29; author's translation). The word *mǽr*, here translated 'maiden', is often translated as 'virgin' and seen as conflicting with her behavior (Lindow 2001, 135-6) but this is misleading; the word does not necessarily indicate that the *mǽr* has never had sex. The goddess Freyja, whose coital tendencies are well-known, is called *Óðs mǽr* in *Völuspá* (ed. Neckel and Kuhn 1983 [strophe 25]), and it often identifies women by reference to their father with no additional implications.⁶ The specificity with which Snorri singles out Gefjun as

⁶ Frigg, who is married and has at least one son with Óðinn, is *Fjörgyns mǽr* (*Lokasenna* 26); Hel is *Loka mǽr* (*Ynglingatal* strophe 13); and many more examples can be found.

a *mær*, and as relevant to other *meyjar*, and without reference to a father or husband, probably indicates that she is unmarried, but it is unreasonable to take it as a comment on her sexual status. Furthermore, this may explain why she is able to have children with a giant; a mythological restriction on relations between giants and *ásynjur* may not apply if the goddess is exploiting the giant, similarly to how Óðinn's frequent sexual escapades are frequently prompted by ulterior motives.⁷ Karin Olsen (2001, 125–126) notes that she seems to share many characteristics of giants.

2.1.3. Lokasenna

Gefjun also plays a part in the eddic poem *Lokasenna*. There are three relevant verses from her verbal exchange with Loki:

	[Gefion] kvað:	<i>Gefion said:</i>
19.	Hví it æsir tveir skoloð inni hér sáryrðom sakaz? Lopzki þat veit, at hann leikinn er ok hann fiorgvall friá.	Why, you two Æsir, must you here indoors rail at each other with rending words? Of Loptr is it not a characteristic well known that he is whimsical and all the deities dote on him?
	[Loki] kvað:	<i>Loki said:</i>
20.	Þegi þú, Gefion, þess mun ek nú geta, er þik glapði at geði: sveinn inn hvíti,	Hold your tongue, Gefion, now I will tell of the one who seduced your senses— that blond boy

⁷ See for example: the theft of the mead of poetry by seducing Gunnlōð in *Skáldskaparmál* (ed. Faulkes 1998, 4).

er þér sigli gaf
ok þú lagðir lær yfir.

who gave you a trinket
and you put your thigh over.

[Ó]ðinn:

Óðinn said:

21. Ærr ertu, Loki,
ok ørviti,
er þú fær þér Gefjón at gremi,
þvíat aldar orlög
hygg ek at hón ǫll um viti
iafngörla sem ek.
(Jón Helgason, ed. 1952, II:50)

You are a lunatic, Loki,
and have lost your wits,
to get Gefjón in rage against you,
for all the fate of the world
I think she is aware of
as accurately as I.
(Dronke 1997, 337)

Once again Gefjón is said to exchange sex for a precious object, this time a necklace. Her counterpart in this act, called *sveinn inn hvíti* ‘the white boy’ (translated by Dronke as ‘that blond boy’) has been tentatively identified as Heimdallr, who is called *hvítastr ása* ‘the whitest of the Æsir’ in *Þrymskviða* and *inn hvíti áss* ‘the white Áss’ in *Skaldskaparmál* (Dronke 1997, 360). As Margaret Clunies Ross (1978, 153) pointed out, Loki’s choice of words, *þú lagðir lær yfir* ‘you laid your thigh over’, seems to imply that Gefjón took the sexually dominant role, although it is interesting that this time Gefjón is the one being tricked.

Óðinn warns Loki that Gefjón is a dangerous enemy because she knows the future, which does not seem especially threatening, but in Norse mythology, “knowing” the future seems to imply an ability to influence it (Bek-Pedersen 2011, 193). Alternatively, it may be that knowledge of the future itself is not the threat, but implies other magical abilities of a more explicitly threatening nature. The Norse magic known as *seiðr* is described as

having prophetic as well as more aggressive functions (Price 2002, 94). By either of these means the same conclusion can be reached, that Gefjun has magical abilities which she can use against those who fall out of her favor, and likely also for the benefit of those toward whom she feels positively. Though here Gefjun is an actual goddess and not a human, this is easily comparable to the *Gylfaginning* and *Ynglinga saga* accounts, regarding both her sexuality and use of magic.

2.1.4. Vølsa þáttur

Gefjun is also mentioned in *Vølsa þáttur*, which is of questionable relevance to genuine pre-Christian religion. In the northern parts of Norway, Saint Ólafr came in disguise to a heathen household who had preserved a severed horse penis which they passed around each evening and worshiped by reciting a verse over it. Along with a few other members of the household, the farmer's daughter, though heathen, was reluctant to participate in this ritual, and when it was her turn to recite a verse she said (normalization based on *Flateyjarbók*, GKS 1005 fol dated to the end of the fourteenth century, eds. Guðbrandr Vigfússon and Unger 1862, 2:334, author's translation):

Þess sver ek við Gefjun
ok við guðin önnur
at ek nauðig tek
við nasa rauðum.
Þiggi mǫrnir þetta blóti
en þráll hjóna
þríf þú við Vølsa.

I swear this by Gefjun
and by the other gods
that under duress do I take
the red phallus.
May *mǫrnir* accept sacred object,
but servant of the household,
take hold of Vølsi.

That the young woman swears by Gefjun specifically might be seen as support for her association with young, unmarried women as described in *Gylfaginning*, though there are other ways to explain the verse. One might object that *Gefjun* was selected for alliteration with *guðin* n.pl. ‘the gods’ in the next line, but this is not compelling because there are many ways the poet may have phrased it to feature a better-known deity considering that there are many synonyms for ‘god’. A more serious consideration is that since *Vqlsa þáttr* is attested no earlier than *Flateyjarbók* at the end of the fourteenth century, the poet may have been influenced by Snorri’s *Edda* and fashioned the verse after a then-contemporary image of heathenry which was several hundred years removed from those it sought to understand, rather than a faithful transmission of beliefs from earlier times. While this must be kept in mind, Neil Price (2002, 168) has demonstrated a remarkable correspondence between an event in *Vqlsa þáttr* and a practice reported in the account of the Rus by Ahmad ibn Fadlan, wherein a woman is lifted over a door frame, apparently to access a supernatural world not occupied by normal living people. Price considers that this incredibly specific detail, not attested anywhere else, cannot be shared by the two stories by coincidence, and most likely reflects actual heathen practice, so that *Vqlsa þáttr* may be more useful as a source of pre-Christian religion than previously considered. This is in no way to say that its accuracy is absolute, but merely that it should not be dismissed.

2.1.5. Additional mentions

There are two remaining sources of possible but uncertain relevance. In *Droplaugarsona saga* (ed. Jakobsen 1902–1908, 174–5), Grímr goes to hólmganga against Gauss, a viking whom iron will not bite. Though Grímr defeats him in the battle, Gauss manages to injure Grímr’s leg, which became infected. A woman pretending to be a doctor came to dress his wound and then disappeared, and afterward Grímr’s condition escalated rapidly so that he died. The woman was in reality Gauss’ mistress Gefjun, *in fjolkunnga* ‘the skilled in magic’ (ed. Jakobsen 1902–1908, 175).

In *Historia Norvegiae*, Aðils is said to fall off his horse and die in front of the temple of Diana (trans. Kunin 2001, 13), which in *Ynglinga saga* is said to have happened at a *dísarsalr* ‘dís’ hall’ (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1941, 58). As will be discussed further in the following section, Gefjun is frequently considered equivalent to Diana in translations into Old Icelandic and this may be a reason, if tenuous, to suggest an association between Gefjun and the dísir.⁸

2.2. Glosses of Classical Goddesses

This concludes the Old Icelandic sources on Gefjun, but additional evidence may be derived from the Old Icelandic tradition of glossing classical deities with names of Nordic deities in translations of foreign material, or

⁸ Exactly what the value of this connection would be for an understanding of Gefjun is difficult to say; given the range of activities and attributes of dísir it would be more surprising if Gefjun were entirely differentiated from them. For a thorough discussion of *dísir* see Luke John Murphy 2013, especially chapter 2, 43–97.

interpretatio norroena. In medieval translations into Old Icelandic, *Gefjun* is used very frequently to gloss Greco-Roman goddesses, such as Vesta, Minerva, Diana, and Venus.⁹ The equivalence with Venus is found only once, in *Stjórn*; Venus is usually considered equivalent to Freyja.

It is worth discussing *Breta sǫgur* in greater detail, as Diana/Gefjun plays an active role in the story and it may have influenced future developments of the tradition regarding Gefjun. The saga is a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the history of the kings of Britain. In the first book the protagonist, the exiled Trojan Brutus, makes a sacrifice to Diana/Gefjun, who then appears to him in a dream and directs him to establish a new kingdom in Britain (*Hauksbók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson 1896, 241). The relevant passage reads as follows (normalization based on *Hauksbók*, ed. Finnur Jónsson 1896, 241, author's translation):

Síðan gekk Brútus fyrri stalla Gefjunar ok hafði ker í hendi ok í vín ok blóð hvítrar hjartkollu ok mælti: “Þú, er vei[zt] himins tíðindi ok setning allrar veraldar ok kannt helvítis deili, seg mér mín forlög ok hvar ek skal byggja at yðru ráði ok hvar ek skal þik guðleg meylla láta dýrka at eilífu.” Svá mælti hann nú sinnum ok sofnaði. Hann þóttisk þá sjá Gefjun hjá sér ok mæli: “Í vestrhelfu heimsins við Gallíaríki liggr ein ey út í hafit

⁹ *Gefjun* glosses *Vesta* several times in *Fídesar saga*, *Spesar ok Karítasar*; *Minerva* in *Trójumanna saga* though it switches mid-text to *Frigg*; *Venus* in the *Stjórn* version of *1 Mósebók*. By far the most common gloss is for *Diana*, and occurs in *Agnesar saga*, *Breta sǫgur*, *Jóns saga postula*, *Nikolauss saga erkibyskups*, and *Páls saga postula*. The name *Gefjun* also appears in *Klements saga* and *Katerine saga* but it is unclear if it is meant to gloss a particular goddess.

óbyggð. Þar byggðu fyr meir risar. Þar hófir þér at byggja ok þínu liði at eilífu ok þitt kyn m[u]n hafa vald yfir öllum heimi.”

[Then Brutus went before the altar of Gefjun and had in his hand a vessel filled with wine and blood of a white deer and said: “You, who knows the tidings of heaven and arrangement of all the world and have knowledge of hell, tell me my future and where I shall build at your counsel, and where I shall have you, godly maiden, worshiped forever.” He said this nine times and fell asleep. He thought that he (dreamed that he) saw Gefjun next to him and speak: “In the western half of the world by Gaul lies an unsettled island in the sea. Giants once settled there. It befits you and your company to settle there forever, and your kindred will have authority over the whole world.”

Although *Breta sögur* in the form in which it is preserved is from after the time of Snorri Sturluson, Margaret Clunies Ross (1978, 155) has suggested that Snorri was aware of the story, even if in a different form.

2.3. A Brief History of Research

2.3.1. Plow Processions

Gefjun has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion. An important early work is Axel Olrik (1910, 1–31), who considered Gefjun’s plowing of Sjøælland to be related to a folk custom widespread across Western Europe wherein a plow is led in a procession around town, usually by a man dressed in woman’s clothing, at a time ranging from New Year to Shrovetide, depending on the area (the potential value of plowing processions to the study of pagan religion was discussed already in Grimm [1835] 1880, 258–65, but is connected to the “Isis” mentioned by Tacitus and not to Gefjun). There are

many regional variations on the plowing custom, and plays are often incorporated. One common element is that after its procession the plow is led into a body of water, which Olrik considered related to the procession of Nerthus in a wagon described by Tacitus which ended with human sacrifice in a lake. Olrik believed that Gefjun was the local reflex of a ubiquitous Germanic earth goddess (and therefore more or less identical to other earth goddesses, including for example Nerthus, Sif, and Iðunn), who was wed to the god of the sky, Þórr in Olrik's opinion¹⁰, with the result of fertile land. For support he collected numerous place-names which he believed to be derived from *Gefjun* and some from *Iðunn*, and showed them to be close to places named for Þórr (Olrik 1910, 21–8). While his interpretations are incredibly dated, the thoroughness of his collection of folk practices is commendable, and a few other points stand out as insightful. For example, he considered the possibility that the Gylfi, who is listed under 'sea-kings' in the *Nafnaþulur* and whose name is used in ocean-related kennings, was once a sea-giant rather than the human king that Snorri presents (Olrik 1910, 11–4; note also that in both of Snorri's explanations of Bragi's verse, Gefjun is also human).

2.3.2. Gefjun as a sea-goddess

A frequently recurring but flawed theory about Gefjun is that she can be identified as a sea-goddess by the Old English term *geofon* (*geofen*, *gifen*, *gyfen*)

¹⁰ He went as far as to suggest that Iðunn's marriage to Bragi in Norse mythology is a later development from her marriage to *Ásabragr*, which is a name for Þórr (Olrik 1910, 24)

m. or n. ‘ocean’ and Old Saxon *geban* m. or n. ‘id.’. Jacob Grimm ([1835] 1880, 239–40; 311) believed there had been a god referred to in such sources as *Heliand* and *Beowulf*, his assertion that this was a being rather than just a poetic term for the ocean supported by nothing other than identification with *Gefjun*; he subsequently listed *Gefjun* with the sea goddess *Rán*. This was taken up by Battaglia (1991, 415–46) who argued that Gefjun was a figure in *Beowulf* who mourned the death of Scyld (417–8) and had hostile relations with Beowulf, based on lines such as *Geofon yþum wēol* (ed. Heaney 2000, line 515) which he translates ‘Gefion welled up in waves’ (Battaglia 1991, 428). He interprets this to mean that “the Goddess’ realm apparently rose up against him”. Davidson’s (1996, 51–9) treatment contained some valuable insights awkwardly worked around the idea that Gefjun is a sea-goddess. This was again elaborated to its most exaggerated degree by North (1997, 221–26) who, after criticizing previous scholars’ failure to explain the morphology of *Gefjun* largely fails to do so himself. He derives the word from an unattested **gefja* which he defines ‘to give’ without explanation for why it would mean that (223), and makes no comment on his proposed etymology of *geofon*; he also notes the discrepancy between grammatical genders of *Gefjun* and *geofon* without explaining why he thinks it unimportant. He goes as far as placing the Norse goddess Gefjun into the Old English version of the story of Noah’s ark, and argues that the story of Gefjun’s land claim from Gylfi is metaphorical for the ocean eroding the soil from one place and depositing it in another (224–6).

De Vries (1962, 160 [*Gefjun*]) rejected the connection, although he did not specify why. One major obstacle to the identification other than the differing grammatical gender is the sound change known as West Germanic gemination. After a light syllable ending in a consonant other than *r*, a following **j* caused gemination of the preceding consonant (Hogg 2011, 71–2 [§4.11–4.14]). Compare Goth *hafjan* v. ‘to lift’ and OE *hefja* v. ‘to heave, lift, raise’ with OE *hebban* v. ‘id.’, OS *hebbian* v. ‘to lift up, exhalt; to have, to consider’. Since the *j* in *Gefjun* follows a light syllable, it would be expected to cause gemination to the PGmc **b̥* so that an Old English or Old Saxon form would not have an intervocalic *f* or *b̥* respectively, but *-bb-*. It is more likely that if an Old Icelandic word can be identified with *geofon*, it might be *geimi* m. ‘sea (poetic)’ as de Vries (1962, 161 [*geimi*]) cautiously mentions (cf. OE *himinn* m. ‘heaven, sky’, OE *heofon* m. ‘heaven’), and although this connection is somewhat speculative an identification with *Gefjun* should be ruled out as highly unlikely. Authors who have argued both for this proposed cognate and a deverbal derivation from a verb **gefja* (North 1998, 223) have also not accounted for the fact that in West Germanic deverbals from *ō*-verbs, equivalent to verbs ending *-ōns* and *-an/un* in Gothic and Old Icelandic, use a suffix *-ung* (Krahe/Meid 1969, III:117 [§98]; 209–211 [§152]).

That *Gefjun* may have had an association with the sea or water in general is definitely conceivable, and considering the frequent association of water and female divinity (Gunnell 2007) it would almost be surprising if there were *not* traces of such an association. Davidson’s (1996, 51–59) article provides

significant evidence that Gefjun had some association with water, but not necessarily more so than other mythological figures like the Norns. However, if such a connection is to be made, it cannot be on etymological grounds.

2.4. Conclusion

Etymology has been a dominant force in the study of Gefjun, so it is unfortunate that the theories regarding her name which seem to have the most widespread influence are wholly inadequate. She is not “the giving one” — in fact the mythology mostly depicts her *taking*; nor is she the ocean. Perhaps time and further study will reveal that she is a goddess of vegetation after all, but probably not for the reasons currently maintained.

Some examples of further reading on Gefjun which are influenced by Gefjun as a literary and mythological figure without much influence from the theonym itself, see “The myth of Gefjon and Gylfi and its function in Snorra Edda and Heimskringla” (Clunies Ross 1978, 149–65), “Gefjon: Metamorphosen einer Göttin” (Heizmann 2002, 197–255), “Bragi Boddason’s *Ragnarsdrápa*: A Monstrous Poem” (Olsen 2001, 123–139) and very briefly in “The Position of the Individual Gods and Goddesses in Various Types of Sources – with Special Reference to the Female Divinities” (Mundal 1990, 294–315, specifically 308–10).

3. Feminine *n*-final substantive formation

In the coming chapters, it will be of great importance to be aware of two methods of word-formation which will prove vital for an understanding of the development of the word *Geffun* and other theonyms. The chapter will also conclude with a brief discussion of some other suffixes that bear more superficial resemblance to the ending of *Geffun*, but which can be easily rejected as sources for the name.

3.1. Deverbal substantives in **-ni-*

3.1.1. **-ni-* abstracts formed from roots of strong verbs

A type of deverbal substantive and adjective inherited into Germanic was formed by attaching **-ni-* to the verbal root. Germanic substantives derived by this method are exclusively feminine, and formation from strong verbs was no longer productive in PGmc, but there are a number of them which have been inherited from PIE (Krahe/Meid 1969, III:115-116 [§98]). An example of such a formation is **bōni-* (OI *bón* f. ‘a petition’ : *bón* f. ‘prayer, request’, OE *bēn* f. ‘prayer’; cf. Old Armenian *ban* ‘word, speech; manner, thing’) < **b^héh₂-ni-* (Krahe/Meid 1969, III:115-118 [§98] without incorporation of laryngeals; Kroonen 2013, 72 [**bōni-*]).

In Old Icelandic, inherited feminines in (root) + **-ni-* were subject to *i*-umlaut, frequently resulting in doublets such as *bón* ‘petition’ : *bón* ‘prayer’, *kván* : *kvæn* f. ‘woman, wife’, and *sjón* : *sýn* ‘vision’. This is due to paradigmatic root vowel alternation which subsequently split the paradigm into separate

words, each with one of the two vowels generalized throughout their own paradigm, for example nominative singular **bōniz* became Old Icelandic *bón*, but which would have an unumlauted vowel in the genitive by regular development, OI *bónar*¹¹. In the following table, the paradigm as it would appear by phonological development alone (*a*), which cannot be demonstrated to have actually existed in Old Icelandic, is contrasted with the paradigms of *bón* (*b*) and *bón* (*c*) gathered from Old Icelandic manuscripts.¹²

Table 3.1: Hypothetical regular development of the paradigm of OI *bón* (*a*) and split paradigms of *bón* (*b*) and *bón* (*c*) as they appear in Old Icelandic.

		<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
sg.	nom.	bón	bón	bón
	acc.	bón	bón	bón
	dat.	bón	bón	bón
	gen.	bónar	bónar	bónar
pl.	nom.	bónir	*bónir	bónir
	acc.	bónir	*bónir	bónir
	dat.	bónum	bónum	bónum
	gen.	bóna	bóna	bóna

¹¹ The development of the *i*-stem genitive singular ending is debated; either an ending **-īz* was replaced analogically by the *ō*-stem ending **-ōz* > **-ōR*, or a PGmc ending **-aiz* developed into PN **-ār* or **-ēr* (Krahe and Meid 1969, II:26-31 [§13, §15], Syrett 2012, 99-104). Boutkan (1995, 244-246 [§3.2.7.6.]) disagrees that this came by analogical change.

¹² Plural nominative and accusative *bónir* are not attested in ONP, but are provided from the word's Modern Icelandic paradigm and Old Icelandic attested plural nominative and accusative *sjónir*.

The earliest attestation of *bón* or *bón* in the *ONP* is a dative plural *bónum* written “beónum” from AM 237 a fol. dated to 1150, suggesting that the paradigmatic split was already complete, as the dative plural would probably not be expected to show *i*-umlaut¹³. The lexical drift that separated the two forms slightly in meaning was most likely complete already at this time, as they are kept discernibly separate in early attestations.

3.1.2. **-ni-* abstracts formed from roots and stem suffixes of weak verbs

While new feminine substantives in **-ni-* did not form from strong verbs in Germanic, they could be produced from weak verbs, in which case the **-ni-* suffix attached to a vowel determined by the verb’s suffix vowel. That is, *ja-* and *ija-*verbs produced deverbals in **-īni-* (e.g. **hauzīni-* f. ‘hearing’, Goth. *hauseins*, OI *heyryn* from PGmc. **hauzijan-* v. ‘to hear’, Goth. *hauzjan*, OI *heyra*), *ō-*verbs in **-ōni-* (in North and East Germanic only, e.g. PGmc. **lapōni-*, Goth. *lapōns* f. ‘invitation’, OI *laðan/lqðun*, ‘invitation, enticement’ from **lapōn-* v. ‘to invite’, Goth. *lapōn*, OI *laða*), and *e-*verbs in **-ēni-* (e.g. **luḅēni-* (Goth. *lubains* ‘hope’, OE *lufen* ‘hope’) from **luḅēn-* (OHG *lobên* ‘to praise’).

¹³ Feminine *i*-stems, like their masculine counterparts, likely had a PGmc dative plural ending **-imaz*, but a reflex of the masculine *i*-stem *gastiz* (attested in the nom. sg. on the Gellehus horn 2, DR 12) appears in the dative plural on the elder *fupark* Stentoften runestone DR 357 as **gestumz**. The ending is analogical from the *a*-stems, although the cause of the umlauted vowel is debated. On one hand it could itself be analogical leveling from the other cases, but on the other hand the original ending could have caused umlaut before being replaced. See Schulte 1998, 76–82 with references.

The suffix vowels and *i*-stem ending is preserved in Gothic, but in Old Icelandic the suffix vowels of both **-īni-* and **-ēni-* abstracts have been lost and cannot be distinguished from each other except by conferring with other languages or the paradigms of the verbs from which they derive (see Johnsen 2012, 33–51 on the loss of unstressed **ī*). Like many other feminine *i*-stems, the ending was replaced in the singular with *ō*-stem endings, and in Old Icelandic they universally show *u*-umlaut when applicable in the singular nominative, accusative, and dative, and plural dative, with no trace of *i*-umlaut even in words formed with **-īni-* where the verb from which it was derived does show umlaut. For example, cf. *lausn* f. ‘liberation’ from **lausīni-*, derived from *leysa* v. ‘to loosen; to free’ from PGmc. **lausijan-*; *lōgn* f. ‘net’ from **lagīni-*, derived from *leggja* v. ‘to lay’, PGmc. **lagjan-*. The umlauted diphthong in OI *heyrn* f. ‘hearing’ from **hauzīni-* v. ‘to hear’ is fronted as a result of the PN palatal sibilant *ɾ* < **z* rather than *i*-umlaut (see Noreen 1923, §71.8). However, *i*-umlaut is shown in East Norse forms (Johnsen 2012, 35–7), such as Old Swedish and Old Danish *værn* ‘defense’ from **warīni-*, derived from **warjan-* ‘to defend’ (OSw. *væria*, OD *væriæ*, OI *verja*), cf. OI *vōrn* f. ‘defense’, though they are sparsely attested in East Norse. The one example from Old Gutnish, *lausn* ‘liberation’ (< **lausijan-*, OGut *loysa* v. ‘to free’) also fails to show *i*-umlaut. Because examples of unambiguous **-īni-* and **-ēni-* derivations with an underlying root vowel *e* are lacking, nothing definitive can be said about breaking.

3.1.3. *-ōni- abstracts formed from ō-verbs

Abstracts in *-ōn- do not appear in West Germanic, which formed feminine deverbals with the suffix *-ungō- (Krahe/Meid 1969, III:117 [§98]; 209—11 [§152]), but are very numerous in North and East Germanic. They are easily identified in Old Icelandic as they appear as the verbal root with -an added to the end, sometimes with umlaut of the ending -an to -un, so that the derivative of *skipa* from PGmc *skipōn- v. ‘to arrange, place in order’ comes *skipan/skipun* ultimately from PGmc *skipōni- f. ‘order, arrangement’.

Like the other weak verb-derived abstracts discussed above, the original feminine *i*-stem endings were replaced with *ō*-stem endings at some point, and this appears to be the origin of the alternation in the suffix vowel between *a* and *u* (see Noreen 1923, §137.2 Anm. 3). The development from *-ōniz to -un is given by Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 16—7 [-an]): *-ōn-i > *-ōn-ō > *-anu > *-qn > -on > -un. The umlauted *a* surfaces as *u* rather than *q* because it is in an unstressed position, wherein only three vowel sounds were distinctive (see below), a process which Hreinn Benediktsson ([1962] 2002, 78, f.7) calls “structurally conditioned analogical sound change”.

The suffix vowel is sometimes written “o”, which is understood to be an orthographic variation on “u”, representing the same sound. The Old Icelandic system of unstressed vowels had only three distinctive phonemes: a low vowel *a*, a non-low front vowel written “e” or “i”, and a non-low back rounded vowel written “o” or “u”, the latter two respectively marked [ɪ] and [ʊ] by Hreinn Benediktsson ([1962] 2002, 78—81). The orthographic variation is most likely

caused not by actual phonetic differences, but rather by changes in the stressed vowel system resulting in different patterns of identifying these unstressed vowels with stressed equivalents (76–81). Therefore an abstract derived from *skipa* may appear written “skipan”, “skipon”, or “skipun”, but it is only safe to assume a phonological distinction between “skipan” *skipan* on one hand, and “skipon”/“skipun” *skipun* on the other.

By regular development the genitive would not be expected to show u-umlaut, where the \bar{o} -stem ending $*-\bar{o}z$ developed into Old Icelandic *-ar*. The same applies to the plural nominative, accusative, and genitive; because they are abstracts, plurals of nouns of this type are uncommon but when they do appear they have normal *i*-stem plural endings without umlaut (except in the plural dative where it is expected). However, there was a strong tendency to generalize one suffix vowel or the other throughout the singular, with *a* significantly more common in manuscript sources, but with *u* ultimately becoming the standard in Modern Icelandic. The paradigms in *Table 3.2* represent (a) the expected development of the declension following only phonological change, contrasted with (b) a recurring medieval and (c) early modern paradigm which has generalized a low suffix vowel, and the paradigm in Modern Icelandic. It is important to remember that because unlike *bón* f. ‘petition’ and *bón* f. ‘prayer’, which differ slightly in meaning, there is no discernible lexical difference between *skipan* and *skipun*, so that paradigm (b) cannot be said to have existed to the exclusion of paradigm (c); they seem to have always coexisted, even during times when paradigm (b) dominated. A plural dative $*skipanum$ is not

attested, but cf. *áeggjanum*, written “aeggianum” in *Flateyjarbók* (ed. Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Unger 1860, I:511), though this could reflect influence from Norwegian. The plural genitive is not attested in manuscript sources.

Table 3.2: Paradigms of OI *skipun* with regular development (a) and generalized suffix vowels *a* (b) and *u* (c).

		a.	b.	c.
sg.	nom.	skipun	skipan	skipun
	acc.	skipun	skipan	skipun
	dat.	skipun	skipan	skipun
	gen.	skipanar	skipanar	skipunar
pl.	nom.	skipanir	skipanir	skipunir
	acc.	skipanir	skipanir	skipunir
	dat.	skipunum	–	skipunum
	gen.	skipana	–	skipuna

Careful examination of the actual distribution of suffix vowels in early manuscripts is necessary in order to consider the likelihood of identifying it with the word *Geffjun*. While a survey of the suffix vowel representation of all such words would be a worthy subject for future research, the volume of material necessitates that only a small selection be observed for now. Four words were selected for closer observation using attestations found in the *ONP*, which are *skipun* ‘order, arrangement’, *skemmtun* ‘entertainment’, *áeggjun* ‘an egging on’, and *veðjun* ‘a wagering, betting’. Of the **-ōni-* abstracts, *skipun* is the most frequently-occurring, and *skemmtun* also has a high number of attestations. The words *áeggjun* and *veðjun* were chosen for phonological

similarity to the word *Gefjun*, in particular a root vowel *e* and a semivowel *j* immediately preceding the suffix. Attestations from the earliest available until those dated to 1500 in the *ONP* were selected.

The results are seen in *table 3.3*. Each word is broken down by case, and for suffix vowel representation among attestations in that case. Total number of attestations is shown to the left in each cell, and to the right the percentage frequency of that vowels representation within that case for that word.

Table 3.3: Totals and frequency of orthographic representation of suffix vowels in *-ōni- deverbals feminines substantives. A vowel *v* is considered the same as *u*.

		<i>skipun</i>	<i>skemmtun</i>	<i>áeggjun</i>	<i>veðjun</i>	Total
nom.	a	38 79.17	14 82.35	3 75.00	3 50.00	58 77.33
	o	7 14.58	- -	- -	1 16.67	8 10.67
	u	3 6.25	3 17.65	1 25.00	2 33.33	9 12.00
acc.	a	50 96.15	25 83.33	10 71.43	9 81.82	94 87.85
	o	1 1.92	- -	- -	- -	1 0.93
	u	1 1.92	5 16.67	4 28.57	2 18.18	12 11.21
dat.	a	49 85.96	17 89.47	32 88.89	1 50.00	99 86.84
	o	3 5.26	1 5.26	1 2.78	1 50.00	6 5.26
	u	5 8.77	1 5.26	3 8.33	- -	9 7.89
gen.	a	6 75.00	19 67.86	3 100.00	- -	28 71.79
	o	1 12.50	5 17.86	- -	- -	6 15.38
	u	1 12.50	4 14.29	- -	- -	5 12.82
Total	a	143 86.67	75 79.79	47 82.46	13 68.42	278 82.99
	o	12 7.27	6 6.38	1 1.75	2 10.53	21 6.27
	u	10 6.06	13 13.83	9 15.79	4 21.05	36 10.75

Among these words, it is clear that the representation of the suffix vowel is not predicted by paradigm (a) in *Table 2* above. The plurals, which are almost always rendered as expected with the exception of one instance of *áeggjanum* noted above, are not shown. It can also be seen that the relative frequency of suffix vowels is fairly consistent throughout the paradigm, not strongly corresponding to case. In fact it is overall *less* likely that a genitive will have a suffix vowel *a* as expected. Though *veðjun* has a lower percentage of *a* than the other words, this is probably due to the relatively few attestations. Having established that the likelihood of any one vowel being written does not seem heavily influenced by the word nor the case, the rate of each is shown by time period, with intervals of half-centuries, in *Figure 3.4*. In the case of a dating range, the average was used for placement in the graph.

Figure 3.4: Number of representations of suffix vowels in *-ōni- deverbals *skipun*, *skemmtun*, *áeggjun*, and *veðjun* by half-century, by total number of attestations

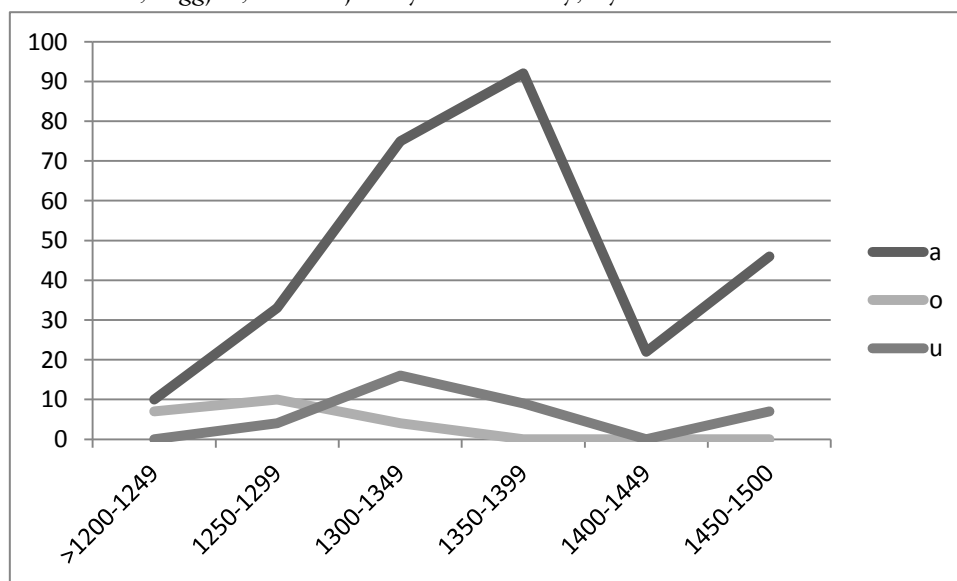
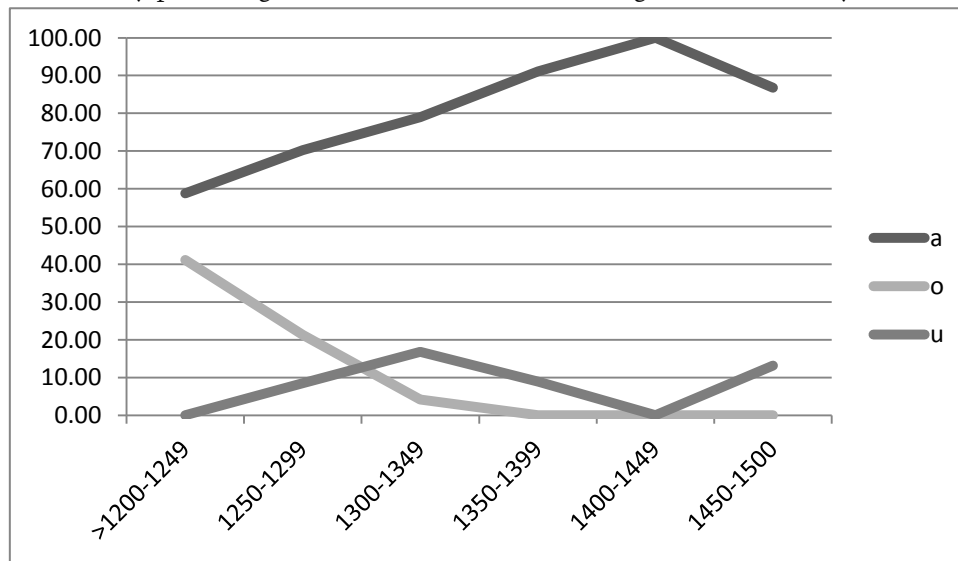


Figure 3.5: Frequency of representations of suffix vowels in *-ōni- deverbals *skipun*, *skemmtun*, *áeggjun*, and *veðjun* by half-century, by percentage of all attestations within the given half-century.



Runic evidence on these words is unfortunately sparse. The Greenlandic runic inscription GR 9 (Olsen 1949, 51–71) contains the word **(t)=yr=ku=n(a)(r)** *dýrkunar* f. ‘worship’ but is a medieval inscription and it cannot be assumed that it testifies to an earlier form of the language than early Icelandic manuscripts. Uppland runic inscription U 349 contains the word **skibin** *skipun*. The carver marks all of his other vowels as expected. Other words with unstressed syllables from the same inscription include (normalizations after *Upplands runinskrifter*, eds. Wessén and Jansson 1943–1946:II, 95):

Unstressed *a*: **risa** *ræisa*, **þina** *þenna*, **ala** *alla*

Unstressed *i*: **uikitil** *Vikætill*, **iftir** *æftir*, **uti** *uti*, **ialbi** *hialpi*

Unstressed *u*: **usur** *Ossurr*

It may well be that his language did indeed contain a word *skipin* with front vowel in the suffix. The relevance of this is, however, limited, as the language of the carver was certainly a variety of East Norse, and so does not have an immediate bearing on Old Icelandic. See §3.2 for a possible explanation.

Already by the time of the Icelandic Homily Book, Holm perg 15 fol, dated to around 1200, it is clear that the relationship between phonological development and distribution of suffix vowels had broken down, demonstrated by forms like “fréiftonar” *freistanar* (46r26; de Leeuw van Weenen 2004, 47 [*freistun*]) and “fkētonar” *skemmtanar* (75v7; de Leeuw van Weenen 2004, 146 [*skemmtun*]).

When **-ōni-* abstracts appear with the rounded suffix vowel written “o” or “u”, the root vowel is susceptible to *u*-umlaut, but it is only applied consistently when the root vowel in the verb from which it derives is *a*; for example, both *dagan* and *dōgun* f. ‘dawn’ can be found, but not **dagun* or **dōgan*. The situation is more complicated when it comes to breaking, which is shown in words like *fordjōrfun* (perhaps under the influence of *djōrfung*?) and *jōfnun/jafnan*, but not in words like *efan*/**efun*¹⁴, *blezan/blezun*, *opinberan/opinberun*, and others. It is probably significant that *blezan/-un* and *opinberan/-un* are both late additions to the Old Icelandic vocabulary, respectively formed to loanwords derived from OE *bletsian* v. ‘to bless’ and MLG *openbāre* adv. ‘offenbar, öffentlich’ (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 64 [*blessa*, †*bleza*], 691 [*opinber*]). Root vowels other than *a* or *e* are unaffected by

¹⁴ Attested in the genitive “efvnar” in Holm perg 3 fol 140v (ed. Loth 1969–1970, 330).

the suffix; both *vísan* and *vísun* f. ‘pointing/direction’ can be found, but no **ýsun* with *u*-umlaut. Note that there are many forms which show umlaut and breaking that are not caused by the suffix, such as *ffjölga* f. ‘a multiplying’ from the verb *ffjölga*, most likely from earlier **felugōn-* ‘to multiply’, cf. the prefix *ffjöl* ‘much, manifold’, corresponding to Gothic *filu* adv. ‘very’.

It is not surprising that of all possible root vowel alternations only *a/ǫ* is represented consistently, as it is extremely common in the language and is even still productive in Modern Icelandic (now between *a* and *ö*), albeit in a morphologically- rather than phonologically-conditioned manner (Kristján Árnason 2011, 246 [§12.3.4]).

3.1.4. Conclusion

Both names *Gefjun* and *Gefn* resemble deverbal substantives described in the immediately preceding sections. It can be concluded from the evidence presented here that if that is how the names were formed, it was most likely to different verbs. The name *Gefjun* resembles the construction from a weak *ō*-verb, which would have been **gabjōn-* as also noted by Much (1891, 317) and Sturtevant (1952, 166). On the other hand, *Gefn* actually could be formed directly from **geþan-*, so that at an earlier stage it was **geþniz*, and perhaps at one point having stem alternation **Gifn ~ Gefn* due to umlaut in cases other than the genitive. On the possibility of an OI **gefja*, see §6.1.2.

3.2. The Hoffmann Formation

In 1955 Karl Hoffmann identified a suffix in Indo-European languages that he describes as identifying possession of the object or quality of the word to which it was attached. Olsen (2004 229–44) cites numerous examples, such as **h₂ap-h₃ón-* (Welsh *afon* ‘river’) from **h₂ap-* ‘water’, where the literal meaning of the composed form is ‘having a lot of water’. In recent times it has frequently been suggested that the “suffix” is actually the second component of a compound, perhaps identifiable with Latin *onus* m. ‘load’, rather than a suffix (Pinault 2000, 95–96; Olsen 2004, 232), and here the term “Hoffmann formation” will be used in a PIE context, although it is clear that it functioned as a suffix in Germanic.

Olsen (2004, 237–44) details a variety of uses of Hoffmann formations. The basic formation from **-h₃onh₂* with accent on the root creates substantivized adjectives, indicating possession of or authority over the root to which it is attached, sometimes with a specifically pejorative meaning, something like ‘burdened with (the first component of the formation)’. When the thematic vowel is added to make it **-h₃nh₂-o-*, it indicates an individual with some relationship to the possession of the first component of the formation, perhaps – but not necessarily – the one who is in charge of it. According to Olsen, the oldest meaning of this formation was “something or someone having or being connected with one who has the **h₃onh₂-*, i.e. load, charge or authority, expressed by the first member” (Olsen 2004, 242).

Without reference to Hoffmann, Meid (1957, 72–126) wrote a highly detailed account of deity names (and a few words which are not deity names) composed with a suffix that he identified as **-no-* in Indo-European languages, frequently called the “Herrschersuffix”, which can be identified as the thematicized version of a Hoffmann formation (Pinault 2000, 66–67 [§6]). Among them are fourteen Germanic names (counting both *Fjörgynn* and *Fjörgyn* separately), including some known only in Latin inscriptions or, in the case of *Tamfana*, a reference made by Tacitus. According to Meid (1957, 77–80) the meaning of the suffix is somewhat too general to give a very precise definition that applies equally well to all cases, but it is possible to draw some conclusions. A deity with a name of such composition is representative of a certain element, natural phenomenon, group of people, and even psychological or cosmological principle (80–2). The diversity of applications of the suffix may make interpretation difficult. For example, the word *Óðinn* (from PGmc. **Wōdanaz*) can be interpreted as a god of *óðr* m. ‘spirit, mind; poetry’, as a god who is *óðr* adj. ‘mad, frantic, furious’, or possibly as a characteristic member of or leader of the Wild Hunt. Indeed, Meid (1957, 86–7) sees all of these characteristics coexisting in the god, beginning with a basic meaning of ‘ecstasy, madness, inspiration’ with the others resulting from this¹⁵.

¹⁵ Alternative explanations of the name *Óðinn* are manifold; the inclusion of Meid’s is not meant to imply their finality but rather as a demonstration and example of his own theories; for a concise summary of scholarship regarding the name *Óðinn* along with his own interpretation, that an association with death is primary and the other attributes secondary, see Liberman 2012, 8–25.

A deity with an **-no-* suffix name usually seems to have some power over the object or concept to which the suffix is attached, but is better described as representative of it, with the connotation of authority derived therefrom (83–4). Meid suggested that in a much earlier level of development, the beliefs which would eventually inform Indo-European religion were such that the phenomenon itself was worshiped, but that over time as the religious worldview developed the deity became more distinct from the object, at which point the suffix would be used to distinguish the being from the phenomenon in name (90). He considers that deity name pairs such as *Óðinn* and *Óðr* (the husband of Freyja in Snorri’s *Edda*), and *Ullr* and *Ullinn* (a name inferred from Scandinavian place-names; see Brink 2007, 116) are remnants of this development (86). Meid gives an example of the Lithuanian thunder god *Perkūnas*, which he derives from PIE **perkʰus* m. ‘oak’ (Lat. *quercus*). He suggests that at one time, oak trees themselves were worshiped, but over time a ‘Herr der Eiche’ developed, and the oak tree became a conduit for communion between the god and his worshipers rather than the intended recipient of worship itself within their worldview (90).

A distinguishing characteristic of Hoffmann formations in many Indo-European languages is the elongation of the medial vowel, which is derived from the stem suffix, for example *tribūnus* m. ‘chief’ from *tribus* f. ‘tribe’. In an article discussing that specifically, Meid (1956, 260) explained that this elongation does not appear to be productive in the Celtic or Germanic languages, with few remaining traces in the languages. Thanks to Hoffmann and

later elaborations such as those by Pinault (2000, 61–117) and Olsen (2004, 229–44), it can be shown that the elongation is due to a laryngeal in the suffix which was later lost along with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. An example given by Olsen is Greek Διώνη, corresponding to a PIE **diuō-h₃-nh₂-áh₂* (Meid 1956, 277 reconstructs **Διῤῥώ-vā* as an earlier Greek form); here the lengthening of *o* to Greek *ω* rather than *ο* is a result of the loss of the laryngeal *h₃* at the beginning of the suffix. Olsen does not appear to be suggesting that **diuō-h₃-nh₂-áh₂* was already a composed word during the PIE period, but rather choosing a hypothetical example for demonstration. The lengthening itself must have become productive in many daughter languages on the model of earlier words (see Pinault 2000, 66–7 [§6]).

In North Germanic, masculine Hoffmann-formations of the thematicized type often have an ending *-inn* even when not derived from *i*-stems, such as in *Óðinn* from **wōþuz* and **Ullinn* from **wulþuz* (OI. *Ullr*, got. *wulþus* m. ‘splendor’). The name *Óðinn* is usually reconstructed to PGmc **wōdanaz* on the basis of its other Germanic cognates (OHG *Wuotan*, OE *Wōden*, Old Saxon *Uuōden*). If *Óðinn* had instead developed from **wōðinaz*, *i*-umlaut would be expected resulting in **Óðinn* such as in OI *óði* m. ‘rage; madness’; The English *Wednesday* has traditionally been seen as evidence for an Old English **Wēden* (< **Wōden*; Meid 1957), but Bammesberger (1999, 1–6) has demonstrated that this is not likely, and only *Wōden* can be assumed for Old English. Noreen (1923 [§173.5]) refers to a Middle Norwegian *Óðon*, and writing in Old English, Æfric said that in Danish, the god Mercurius is called *Oðon* (Lassen

2011, 98); these suggest a variant with a medial vowel **-u-*, which presumably derived from the stem vowel of **wōþuz* if indeed it existed; since Noreen did not mention the source of *Oðon* it was not possible to confirm for the present work, and Ælfric's rendering of a word from a language foreign to him should be treated with caution.

Although adjectives and substantives in **-ina-* are likely to have occurred in Proto-Germanic (cf. Got. *fulgins* adj. 'hidden'; *kindins* m. 'governor'), they are far less common than equivalents in **-ana-* and cannot serve as a base for analogical change (Boutkan 1995, 78–9). The situation is made even more complicated by a number of runic examples that show a suffix *-ina-* already in the Elder Futhark period, such as N KJ60 **faikinaz** (perhaps related to OI *feikn* f.adj. 'awful, monstrous'; Syrett 1994, 203) and N KJ71 **azinn** ('stone' according to Antonsen 2002, 191, cf. OI *arinn* m. 'hearth', dated 375–570). A number of theories have been proposed which attempt to explain how the *-inn* ending could come about without causing umlaut. Kock (1898, 484–554) proposed a complicated sequence of sound changes wherein first PGmc **-an-* becomes **-in-* when following an **i* in the first syllable (which is also to say, words wherein *i*-umlaut could not possibly show regardless of the timing, as pointed out by Syrett 1994, 193) or immediately following a velar consonant, and then later another change occurred wherein a second-syllable **-an(C)* becomes **-in(C)*. This was accepted and elaborated by Boutkan (1995, 78–82) who believed furthermore that the nominative ending **-R > n* in a word like

Óðinn would be lost by regular development, and then reinstated analogically,¹⁶ proposing the development $*wōdanaz > *wōd-anz > *wōd-an \rightarrow *wōd-an-r > Óðinn$, where Kock's theory applies only between Óðinn and the previous step, but not until after *i*-umlaut ceases to be productive.

Syrett (1994, 187–204 [§7.6]) offered a solution that is vastly more simple.¹⁷ The idea is that the ending $*-īna-$, already used to form adjectives denoting the material from which something is made (e.g. $*gulṑīnaz$ adj. 'of gold', OI *gullinn* 'id.'; Ringe 2006, 294) and also does not typically show *i*-umlaut, was generalized throughout participles and adjectives previously in $*-ana-$ or $*-ina-$ (Syrett 1994, 203–4 [§7.6.5]). He says that this could have then spread to some substantives as well. Perhaps this is the source of the word **skibin** *skipun* on Uppland runic inscription 349 mentioned in §3.1.3.

Meid (1957, 119–26) identified a number of Germanic feminine names which he believed to be formed with this suffix, including *Lofn*, *Hqrn*, and *Fjörgyn* from Old Icelandic and *Vercana*, *Hludana*, and *Tamfana* from Latin renderings of Germanic goddess names. If Syrett's (1994, 187–204 [§7.6]) theory is correct, the Old Icelandic examples, *Lofn* and *Hqrn*, might resemble

¹⁶ Boutkan's reasoning is rather bewildering; he says that a PN $*-anr$ should become $*-an$ because the PGmc. *a*-stem accusative plural $*-anz$ and PGmc. masculine *n*-stem genitive singular $*-anas$, from earlier $*-enas$, both surface as *-a* in Old Icelandic. Not only does the evidence seem unrelated to the conclusion, but placing one's faith in the regular development of North Germanic *n*-stems seems highly inadvisable. Note that rejection of Boutkan's additions does not imply that Kock's is wrong.

¹⁷ Boutkan (1995) made no mention of Syrett (1994) as he almost certainly did not have the benefit of consulting *The Unaccented Vowels of Proto-Norse* before the completion of his own work, released only the following year.

*-īni- deverbals because this remodeling, combined with the analogical replacement of the *i*-stem ending with *ō*-stem endings in the singular, actually made them indistinguishable from the deverbals, both consisting of a root and *-īnō. The unstressed *-ī- has been lost in *-īni- and *-ēni- deverbals by the time of Old Icelandic (see §3.1.2) and so it would be expected for other words which also consist of a root followed by *-īn-.

Meid's analysis of *Lofn* is faulty as is detailed in section 4.1.3.3 below, although this does not entirely preclude the possibility of *Lofn* as formed with the "Herrschersuffix". It is also difficult to accept Meid's admittedly hesitant interpretation of *Hludana* as related to *holda*, a sort of spirit, because the metathesis that would be required to allow a connection seems unlikely. Despite these words of caution, it is still likely that feminine deity names could be formed in Germanic languages by means of the Herrschersuffix. If feminine Hoffmann-formations of the thematic type can be found in Germanic, although thematicization in itself would no longer be a meaningful concept, words created on the model of older Hoffmann formations would be *ō*-stems (meaning that a PGmc feminine Herrschersuffix *-nō can be proposed), as names like *Vercana*, *Hludana*, and *Tamfana* most likely are; they are generally attested in a dative ending -ae as in Latin's first declension, as opposed to *i*-stems like *Lubaini*, showing a Latin third declension dative ending.

Likely examples of these words are more difficult to discern in Old Icelandic than their masculine counterparts, but some candidates can be found especially in poetic terminology, such as *borkn* or *bqrkn* f. 'female wolf', possibly

related to *berkja* v. ‘to bark’ according to de Vries (1977, 51 [*borkn*]) and Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 73 [*borkn*, *ṛbqrkn*]) or *barki* m. ‘windpipe’; unfortunately the word only appears in the *Nafnapulur* in the nominative and its declension is unknown. Another possible example is a troll-woman name *Leikn*, which de Vries (1977, 351) compares to OE *scīnlǣce* f. ‘sorceress’ and reconstructs **laikīnō* but **laikanō* does not seem less possible, nor is **laikniz* impossible should it derive directly from the strong verb *leika* ‘to play’ although that seems less likely on semantic grounds to be a troll-woman’s name. A very closely related formation designates collectives and place-names based on an object or substance found in that location, which Olsen (2004, 243–244) reconstructs for PIE on the basis of words like Latin *porrīna* f. ‘field of leek’ from *porrum* n. ‘leek’ and Lithuanian *beržynas* m. ‘birch wood’ from *beržas* m. ‘birch’ to **-i-h₃nh₂o-*; several possible compounds of this type may be discernible in place names, especially for islands, such as *Bókn* f., and *Hveðn* f., possibly derived respectfully from *bók* f. ‘beech tree’ (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 69 [*Bókn*]) and a word cognate to Gothic **hwapō* (attested in the dative *hwapōn*) f. ‘foam’ (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 394 [*Hveðn*]). Although a deverbal derivation from a cognate of Gothic *hwapjan* v. ‘to foam’ cannot be ruled out entirely for *Hveðn*, it is less likely because *hwapjan* is a weak verb, and **-ni-* deverbals from weak verbs typically show *u*-umlaut, although it is not clear from where the *e* comes. If *Bókn* and *Hveðn* are Bokn, Norway, and Ven, Sweden, the respective absence and (possible) presence of *i*-umlaut

corresponds to the deverbals discussed in §3.1.2 and accords well with the theory of Syrett (1994, 187–204 [§7.6]).

3.3. Other suffixes

Feminine names frequently end with *-unn*, such as *Iðunn*, *Ingunn*, *Steinunn*, and many others. The etymology of this ending is disputable. It may be related to the verb *unna* ‘to allow, bestow; to love’, and *unnr* f. ‘wave’ has also been suggested (de Vries 1962, 365 [*unnr*]; Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 1088 [*1 -unn*]). The advantage of such a suffix is that the accusative and dative endings are *-i*, as can also be seen in the Modern Icelandic paradigm of *Gefjun*, acc./dat. *Gefjuni*. However as chapter 5 will show, this declension is not borne out in manuscripts, and should be considered analogical, most likely from *-unn* names.

It is certain that the suffix is not part of the name *Gefjun*. Not only does *Gefjun* lack the geminate *nn*, but representation of the suffix vowel is drastically different as well. The names *Gefjun* and *Iðunn* appear frequently in close proximity to each other and so can be easily compared, for example GKS 2365 4to [15r7] and [15v12], both “iþvn” alongside [15v20–21] “gef|ion” and [15v18] “gefion”.

There was also a feminizing suffix **-unjō-* which in OI becomes an **ōn-* stem **unjōn-*, and creates feminines from other nouns, such as *ásynja* f. ‘goddess’ from *áss* m. ‘god’ (Johnsen 2005, 143–145). The suffix is rare, and the suffix vowel is affected by *i*-umlaut, so this is also rejected as a candidate for contributing to the name *Gefjun*.

3.4. Conclusion

At this point, both deverbals from weak \bar{o} -verbs and Hoffmann formations provide viable means of derivation of the name *Gefjun*. Further investigation is necessary. If *Gefjun* is a deverbal, fluctuation between umlauted and non-umlauted forms of the suffix vowel is expected, with a vowel “a” appearing alongside “u” and “o”, which is investigated thoroughly in chapter 5. There is unfortunately little in Old Icelandic to compare *Gefjun* to in order to determine the possibility of a Hoffmann formation, but an explanation as to how it would have formed and what word it used as a base will be needed in order to evaluate that theory. A Hoffmann formation would much more easily lend to an interpretation wherein the names *Gefn* and *Gefjun* have a common origin than the deverbal theory.

4. Goddess Names in Germanic Languages

4.1. Old Icelandic

4.1.1. Goddess names ending *-un*

4.1.1.1. Introduction

As Sturtevant (1952, 167) noted, only one other Old Icelandic goddess name other than *Gefjun* can be definitely identified as having the same ending, which is *Njǫrun*. Another name may be discernible in the two-word phrase *Ingunar Freyr*, referring to the god Freyr.

4.1.1.2. *Njǫrun*

The name *Njǫrun* is found in the *Nafnapulur* entry for *Ásynja heiti* ‘names of goddesses’. It occurs frequently in kennings meaning “woman”, sometimes compounded with *beiði-*, *eld-*, or *hól-* (*Lexicon Poeticum* 1931, 429 [*Njǫrun*]; *Skj* BI:78[36], 80[44], 103[35], 126[4], 188—189[1], 279—80[12], 487[34]; BII:216[21], 476—77[1]). *Njǫrun* also appears in the compound *draumnjǫrun* in the poem *Alvíssmál* as a poetic term meaning ‘night’ (eds. Neckel and Kuhn 1983 [strophe 30]). Unfortunately, no mythological information can be found regarding the goddess, which makes it more difficult to discern the most likely of several different interpretations of the name.

It has been suggested that *Njǫrun* could be a descendent of the goddess *Nerthus* described by Tacitus around 100 A.D. (Näsström 1995, 60; Hopkins 2012, 39-44), but this seems highly unlikely. The argument in favor of this interpretation is as follows: Nerthus is described by Tacitus as a female earth

deity, whom he refers to as “Mother Earth” (Tacitus, ed. Hutton 1914, 320–321) and while there is no clear reflex in Norse mythology recorded in Eddic poetry or other North Germanic sources, the word itself has been taken to represent a Germanic **nerþuz*, which, given standard phonological development of North Germanic, would yield *Njǫrðr* in Old Icelandic (de Vries 1931, 36–37).¹⁸ *Njǫrðr* is, of course, a male deity of the Vanir family, but many mythical themes and ritual elements which are described as related to the Vanir in North Germanic sources are reminiscent of Tacitus' description of the cult of Nerthus, such as processions of the deity's idol in a wagon, ritually enforced peace, and fertility of the land (see McKinnell 2005, 50–62, 74); it could be either that the name ceased to be suitable for a goddess or Tacitus misunderstood and reported the name of not the female, but the male deity (de Vries 1931, 37). In stanza 36 of *Lokasenna* (ed. Jón Helgason 1952, 2:52) the god Loki accuses *Njǫrðr* of procreating with his sister, who is unnamed. The Vanir deities Freyr and Freyja have names which are nearly the same except for their grammatical gender¹⁹ and if the first component of the compound *Ingunarfreyr*, a name for Freyr, is a feminine personal name **Ingun* (see 4.1.1.3.) this may be a feminine equivalent to *Yngvi*, another name of Freyr. The evidence regarding Freyr and Freyja has been taken to imply that Vanir deities tend to come in sibling pairs with equivalent names (McKinnell 2005, 52, 55), so it would not be unexpected if

¹⁸ **Nerþu-* to **[Njǫrþu]* by *u*-breaking, to *Njǫrð-* by and syncope of the unstressed vowel **u*.

¹⁹ It would be wrong to say they are quite “the same” other than the gender difference, because Freyr is a “strong” substantive and Freyja a “weak” substantive.

there were once two deities named **nerþuz*, one who was male, kept his name, and retained prominence nearly a millennium after Tacitus, the *Njǫrðr* who appears in Norse mythology, and another who was female and either lost her name, became obscure, or never actually had that name to begin with. As **nerþuz* is a *u*-stem substantive, which is extremely rare in the feminine gender and highly susceptible to analogical change, it is believed by some that the name was unsustainable for a goddess and was changed to a more clearly grammatically feminine equivalent (Näsström 1994, 60).

This is not an illogical argument but the evidence against it is substantial. There is some concern that the spelling “Nerthus” is not an accurate representation of the name of the goddess observed by Tacitus, although John McKinnell (2005, 50—1) has demonstrated that it most likely is. The goddess name *Skaði* is a typically masculine word is an acceptable name for a goddess, and indeed is even used for a man in *Vǫlsunga saga* without any apparent conflict (ed. Finch 1965, 1). It is possible that the word **Nerþuz* > *Njǫrðr* is the result of a root **ner-* and suffix **-þuz*, but other possible explanations require that the dental be part of the stem (see de Vries 1977, 410—1 [*Njǫrðr*] with seven different suggestions, apparently changing his position, or at least his confidence in it, from the one he expressed in de Vries 1931, 36—7), and even if this is not the case it is unclear for how long the name would have been analyzable as **Ner-þuz* rather than **Nerþ-uz*. A name **Njǫrðun* would be indisputably related to *Njǫrðr*, but clearly no such word exists. When de Vries (1931, 36—7) compared *Njǫrðr* : *Njǫrun* to *Óðr* : *Óðinn*

and *Ullr* : *Ullinn*, he neglected that the dental of the suffix **-þu-* which he describes as important in the creation of the names *Óðr*, *Ullr*, and *Njǫrðr* is itself still present in both the longer forms, so the comparison is not equal.

One difficulty in determining the etymology of *Njǫrun* is in its overabundance of possibilities. The simplest is that it is a feminine deverbial abstract from the weak *ō*-verb *njǫrva* 'to bind, lash, tie up' and therefore the same derivation as the modern Icelandic *njörvun* 'a fixing in place', the only difference being that in the modern language *v* and *u* are no longer in allophonic distribution. In Norse mythology, gods and valkyrjur are commonly associated with the placing and removing of bonds and fetters, and the word *bǫnd* 'bonds' is even a poetic term for 'gods', so this is an entirely normal name for a goddess.

In *Alvíssmál*, the term *draumnjǫrun* is used in close proximity to the giant *Nǫrr* (in the dative, *Nǫrvi*), the father of the night goddess *Nótt*. If the name *Njǫrun* is related to that of another deity, this *Nǫrr* is highly likely to be the one. It is true that the underlying root vowel of the former must be **e* and the latter **a* to account for the respective breaking and umlaut, but Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 671 [*nörva*]) notes that this alternation is attested in words related to *nǫrr*, for example *Nǫrvasund*/*Nørvasund*.

A third possibility is that *Njǫrun* is related to the matronae name *Nervinae*, and therefore also possibly to the *Nervii* (Neumann [1983] 2008, 46), a Belgic tribe who were of Germanic origin according to Strabo (ed. Jones 1917, 194) and Tacitus (1914, 302—3). Given the possibility of a relationship

between *Gefjun* and *Hlóðyn* and the *Gabiae*-related matronae names and the name *Hludana*, this explanation is especially interesting, and will be explored in much greater detail in section 4.2.2., but for now it should also be pointed out that a connection between *Njǫrun* and *Nǫrr* can easily coexist with a purely linguistic association between *Njǫrun* and the *Nervinae*. This is to say nothing of an actual historical continuity; it is by no means beyond reason that the name might occur twice.

It should also be considered that *Njǫrun* may never have been a goddess at all, and the appearance of the name in the *Nafnapulur* could be a mistake resulting from the use of the term *draumnjǫrun* in *Alvíssmál*. It is true that it is used in woman-kennings in skaldic poetry in a manner similar to those which make use of goddess names, but the same is true of the word *Nauma* (*Lexicon Poeticum* 422 [*Nauma*]), which never occurs in reference to a goddess, even in the *pulur*.

For a final point on *Njǫrun* it should be pointed out that while works which connect the name to *Njǫrðr* and to *Nerthus* tend to regard *Njǫrun* as an earth deity (de Vries 1931, 36—7; Näsström 1995, 60; Hopkins 2012, 39—44), it is by no means necessary to maintain the connection to these other names in order to interpret the name as one of an earth deity. In describing several *Matronae* name components, Neumann ([2003] 2008, 231) said “[...] **nerwīn*- ‘die Engstelle im Gelände’ usw. Das sind Bezeichnungen, die kleine Siedlungen benennen mögen, vielleicht auch speziell den Kultplatz der Matronen”, where

**nerwīn-* is represented in the name *Nervinae*, but theoretically could contribute to the name *Njōrun* as well, see §4.2.2.4 for more on this possibility.

4.1.1.3. **Ingun*?

The god Freyr, who is also called *Yngvi*, is called *Ingunar Freyr* by Byggvir in *Lokasenna* strophe 43 (GKS 3265 4to [16r29] “ingunar freyr”). Taken at face-value, the first component resembles a genitive of an unattested feminine personal name **Ingun*. While the feminine personal name *Ingunn*, genitive *Ingunnar*, with geminate *-nn* is very common, it is never attested with only a single *-n* unless in this compound. As *Ynguni* is a word referring to an Ynglingr king, this has occasionally been interpreted to mean ‘Lord of the Ynglings’ like the phrase *frēa Ingwina* in line 1319 of *Beowulf* (ed. Heaney 2000, 92–3), but *Ingunar* is clearly a singular genitive, not plural. Kock believed it to be a contraction from *Inguna Árfreyr* but as Schück (1940, 291) points out, the two-word phrase is always written with a space between *Ingunar* and *Freyr*. The idea that **Ingun* could be the name of a deity or of the earth preserved in this compound has been addressed by Schück (1940), although he considered it a mistake for *Ingunn*.

The declension of *Ingunn* reveals a means by which *Ingunar* might be explained as a relic form preserved in the compound *Ingunar-Freyr*. The word’s declension resembles that of an *i*-stem, the endings of which are often replaced by those of an *ō*-stem, but is often preserved in personal names, perhaps due to the influence of *ijō*-stems (see Johnsen 2005, 62–9 [2.4.2]). Compare the

following paradigms of *Hildr* and *Gunnr*, respectively an *ijō-* and *i-*stem (Johnsen 2005, 65):

<i>nom.</i>	Ingunn	Gunnr	Hildr
<i>acc.</i>	Ingunni	Gunni	Hildi
<i>dat.</i>	Ingunni	Gunni	Hildi
<i>gen.</i>	Ingunnar	Gunnar	Hildar

Table 4.1: Declension of feminine personal names Ingunn, Gunnr, and Hildr

If *Ingunn* was also an *ijō-*stem, then the second final *n* may have come about by assimilation of the nominative ending: $*-nr > -nn$. At this point, the geminate *-nn* may have spread analogically to the rest of the paradigm on the basis of common feminine names ending *-unn* such as *Steinunn* (gen. *Steinunnar*) and *Þórunn* (gen. *Þórunnar*). In this case, the development would be as follows:

<i>nom.</i>	*Ingunir	>	Ingunn	Ingunn
<i>acc.</i>	*Inguni		*Inguni	→ Ingunni
<i>dat.</i>	*Inguni		*Inguni	→ Ingunni
<i>gen.</i>	*Ingunar	>	Ingunar	→ Ingunnar

Table 4.2: a conceivable, though speculative, development of the name *Ingunn*

This is a rather complicated and speculative solution, and the situation regarding Freyr and *Yng-/Ing-* names is more complicated than just this. In his study of the **-no-* suffix in deity names, Meid (1957, 123–4) argued for a name *Yngvin* on the basis of *Ynglinga saga* chapter 17, offering a text normalized *en Yngvi eða Yngvin var kallaðr hverr þeira ætmanna alla ævi en*

Ynglingar allir saman ‘and each of their kinsmen were called *Yngvi* or *Yngvin* for their lifetime, and *Ynglingar* altogether. The word here normalized *Yngvin* is found in manuscript sources written “yngǫni” (AM 35 fol., dated 1685–1700) and “p̥ngvin” (Holm papp 18 fol., dated 1681–82); it is omitted from AM 45 fol., and interestingly, in AM 38 fol. “yngūne” is crossed out and corrected to “Ingúni” in the margin. It is normalized to *Ynguni* by Bjarni Aðalbarnarson (ed. 1941, 34). Clearly the identity of this word is far from certain, but its mere existence means that great caution should be taken in interpreting *Ingunar*. While the suggestion offered here is possible there is no compelling evidence for it having happened.

4.1.1.4. Conclusions

Ultimately neither name *Njōrun* or **Ingun* can contribute significantly to the study of the name *Gefjun*. In the case of the former, this is due to an overabundance of possible derivations, and the latter, because of great uncertainty surrounding the word. A single formational suffix cannot be identified on the basis of these words which results in an ending *-un*. A strong case can be made for *Njōrun* being a deverbial, but this does not preclude other possibilities.

4.1.2. Names in *-yn*

4.1.2.1. Introduction

The following names all end with *-yn*, genitive *-ynjar*. The names *Fjōrgyn* and *Hlóðyn* have recieved frequent commentary with little concensus,

but the suggestion has been made that the Herrschersuffix may have played a part, especially in *Fjörgyn*. The name *Sigyn* has not been associated with the Herrschersuffix, nor is there reason to believe it should be, but it may be exemplary of a different name component, perhaps from earlier **-vin*, genitive **-vinjar*.

4.1.2.2. *Fjörgyn*

Fjörgyn is a name well-attested in the Old Norse corpus as a name for the earth and the mother of Þórr. In *Völuspá* strophe 56 Þórr is called *Fjörgynjar burr* ‘the son of Fjörgyn’ and Þórr is also called the son of Fjörgyn in *Hárbarðsljóð* strophe 56. It is listed as a heiti of the earth in *Skáldskaparmál* chapter 57 and an anonymous *dróttkvætt* verse is quoted in support of this, and it appears in the accusative *fjörgynju* (“fio2gynio” in AM 2365 4to *Codex Regius*, 39r5) in *Oddrúnargrátr*. Meanwhile the masculine name *Fjörgynn* appears in *Lokasenna* strophe 26 when Loki calls Frigg *Fjörgyns mæx* and also the kenning *dóttir Fjörgyns* listed for Frigg in chapter 19 of *Skáldskaparmál*.

Within Germanic languages *Fjörgyn* can be compared to Goth *fairguni* f. ‘mountain, mountain range’, OE *firgen*, *fyrgen* n. ‘mountain, mountain woodland’, OHG *Fergunna*, *Firgunnea*, *Virgunnia* ‘a mountain range in central Germany’ (de Vries 1962, 126 [*fjörgyn*]; Lehmann 1989, 104–5 [*fairguni*]).

Of all the names under observation in the present work, *Fjörgyn* and its masculine counterpart *Fjörgynn* may be the most discussed and debated due the relationship it may or may not have to supposed cognates in other Indo-

European languages. In particular the Lithuanian name of the thunder god *Perkūnas* has inspired comparison (see: Meid 1957, 125–126; Friedrich 1970, 133–140; Maher [1973] 1977, 457–458; a terse summary of the scholarship can be found in Lehman 1989, 104–105 [*fairguni*]). The common origin of the two words is said to be PIE **perkʷus* m. ‘oak tree’ (Lat. *quercus* m. ‘id.’). It is suggested that the oak tree was associated with thunder

Meid (1957, 125–126) accepts the connection but not without hesitation. He explains that in order for the comparison to work, the masculine *Fjörgynn*, apparently a *ja*-stem due to the umlaut in the second syllable, would have to have been reformed based on the feminine *Fjörgyn*, taking the place of the true cognate which in Proto-Germanic would have been **Fergunaz*, but which has no attested reflexes.

In order for *Fjörgyn* to be related to *fjorr* m. ‘tree’ or *fjor* n. ‘life’ (cf. Goth. *fairhus* m. ‘world’), its formation must predate Verner’s Law, with an accent not fixed on the first syllable. There is no reason to believe this could not have happened, in fact Goth. *fairhus* m. ‘world’ seems highly applicable as a name of the earth. The word *fjorn*, discussed in §4.1.3.6 could have resulted from paradigmatic split if the pre-Verner’s Law form had an alternating stress pattern, causing voicing only in some cases. There may have been a stress pattern that would cause voicing by Verner’s Law if *Óðinn* was formed from a **wōþuz* before the PGmc. accent became fixed, resulting in PGmc. **wōðanaz* (to explain OE *Wōden*, not **Wōþen*). However without demonstrating such a

stress pattern to associate with such a suffix, this remains *ad hoc* and speculative.

4.1.2.3. *Hlóðyn*

Like *Fjörgyn*, the name *Hlóðyn* is listed as a name of the earth and the mother of Þórr. In verse 56 of *Völuspá* Þórr is called *mógr Hlóðynjar* ‘son of Hlóðyn’. *Skáldskaparmál* chapter 57 lists it as a *heiti* for the earth and cites a verse from Völu-Steinn’s *Ögmundardrápa* which uses a kenning *Hlóðynjar beinir* ‘Hlóðyn’s bones’, meaning ‘rocks’. Strophe 26 of *Vellekla* by Einarr skálaglamm uses the name in the genitive in a construction interpreted by Finnur Jónsson as *myrk- Hlóðvinjar -markar* and to mean ‘Jylland’ (*Skj* BI:122[27]).

The name is unambiguously a *jō*-stem, with the genitive almost always attested with an ending *-jar* even when abbreviated (cf. *Bergsbók*, Holm perg 1 fol 19va12: “hlodyni^r”), though there is a rare exception in AM 54 fol 9rb14 “hlodynar”, a copy of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* dated to the end of the fourteenth century. There is a small amount of variation in the suffix vowel *y*; in AM 748 II 4to 6v1, dated 1390–1410, it appears “hloðvin^r” and in *Codex Trajectinus* Traj 1374 fol [46r10] it is written “hlodun^r”, but these rare variants are not enough to challenge the standard *-yn*, genitive *-ynjar*.

In *Vellekla*, *Hlóðynjar* is sometimes replaced with *Foldynjar* in manuscripts of *Heimskringla* (AM 35 fol [147r23] “foldyniar”; AM 45 fol 24 “folldyni^r”, 11; AM 38 fol [81r19] “foldyni^r”) though manuscripts of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* have *Hlóðyn* consistently (AM 61 fol [14v25]

“hlodynjar”; AM 54 fol [9r14] “hlodynjar”; Holm perg 1 fol [19va12] “hlodynjar”). The mistake may have been introduced by a form with the *h* unwritten, as in AM 37 fol [86v14] “myrklodynjar” if a scribe then attempted to correct “lodynjar” and recognized that it mean ‘earth’ but chose the word incorrectly. The word *fold* f. ‘earth; grassy field’ has the same basic meaning, and because the syllable bears neither rhyme nor alliteration the change is inconsequential to the metre.

The vowel of the first syllable is uncertain; it is often given *Hlǫð-* (*Skj* BI: 122[27]) but also *Hlóð-* (de Vries 1962, 239 [*Hlóðyn*]) with all parties involved largely uncertain and usually noting the uncertainty. Manuscript attestations with the vowel written any differently from “o” were not able to be produced, and this holds for manuscripts that do tend to differentiate orthographically between *o* and unlauded vowels (GKS 2365 4to [2v15] reads “Þa kǫz in mǫzi mǫg2 hlodynjar” *Þá kjömr inn mæri mögr Hlóðynjar*” for example) and so *Hlóðyn* seems the more likely of the two. This is also supported by Johnsen’s (2005, 138—145) articulation of Dahl’s Law, wherein an ending **(i)jō*, when preceded by two light syllables, manifests the Sievers’ variant **-ijō* as if following a heavy syllable. If the name is *Hlǫðyn* it seems that the syllabic structure would be $\sim\sim$, and would end up as **Hlǫðynr*, genitive **Hlǫðynar*.

Even narrowing down the root vowel there are several possibilities for the origin of the root. Some that come to mind are OI *hlóðir* f.pl. ‘hearth’ and OE *hlōþ* f. ‘spoils, booty; troop, gang’ although neither these is particularly relevant mythologically. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 341 [*Hlóðyn*]) refers

to a dialectal Sw. *lôd* meaning ‘hay- or cornstack’ which stands more to reason. An interesting suggestion (de Vries 1962, 239 [*Hlóðyn*]) is that it is derived from the verb *hlaða* ‘to pile, load’, in which case the root comes from the preterite singular stem. This is relevant to *Gefjun* in that **gab-* is the preterite singular stem of the verb **geban-*, although the *j* would still not be accounted for. However, the word *lôd* which Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 341 [*Hlóðyn*]) mentions is itself almost definitely derived from *hlaða* and so there is not significant reason to say that *Hlóðyn* derived directly from the verb.

4.1.2.4. *Sigyn*

Sigyn is the name of Loki’s wife. *Gylfaginning* ch. 50 and the epilogue to *Lokasenna* explain that the Æsir bound Loki to a rock in a cave by his sons’ intestines, and hung a venomous snake above his head so that the venom would drip on his face. *Sigyn* holds a bowl above Loki to catch the venom before it hits him, though when the bowl fills and she has to empty it, Loki writhes in pain, causing earthquakes.

The name itself is usually believed to be composed of *sig-* ‘victory’ and **vin* f. ‘(female) friend’, (Simek 1993, 284 [*Sigyn*]), or rather *sig* n. ‘rope which is let down; rope with weights’ (de Vries 1962, 474 [*Sigyn*]; ÍÓ 1989, 813 [*Sigyn*]), with the second component surfacing as *-yn* in the same manner as the alternation between *Björgvin* and *Björgyn* f.sb. ‘Bergen, Norway’. A word **vin* as a simplex with the meaning ‘(female) friend’ is not attested, but a feminine *ōn*-stem *vina* with that meaning does occur, as well as a *jō*-stem *vin*, gen. *vinjar*

but with the meaning ‘meadow’. A genitive of *Sigyn* occurs in *Haustlǫng* strophe 7 and in the list of kennings for Loki listed in *Skáldskaparmál* chapter 16. While readings of the nominative *Sigyn* are common in manuscripts (cf. *Codex Regius* GKS 2365 4to [2r9] “figyn”; *Hauksbók* AM 544 4to [20v13] “figyn”), the genitive varies between *Sigynjar* (“figyniar” AM 242 fol, [55:24] and Traj 1374 fol [26r30]); and *Signýjar* (“fignpar” GKS 3267 4to [25v16]), the latter most likely incorrectly chosen over the former because the name *Signý* is a common feminine personal name.

As **vin* f. ‘(female) friend’ is unattested, it is difficult to conjecture what its genitive might have been if it existed. Alongside the Old Icelandic *ōn*-stem *vina* there is also the Old High German *winia* ‘Freundin, Gelibte’, also an *ōn*-stem according to Braune (2004, 1:211 [§226]), but an *ō*-stem substantive is lacking, and perhaps it is best to look elsewhere for an explanation of the name.

The simplest explanation is not vastly different from the traditional one above. As there are few indications that *Sigyn* was any kind of earth goddess unless by association with the earthquakes that Loki causes, *vin* f. ‘meadow’ is probably not correct, but OE *wyn*, *wynn* f. ‘joy’ (cf. OS *wunnia* f. ‘id.’) is very common in Old English compounded personal names. It can be reconstructed to PGmc. **wunjō*, which would most likely result in an Old Icelandic **yn*. It actually may be that de Vries (1962, 474 [*Sigyn*]; 664 [*vin*]) meant to imply this when he wrote “**Sig-vin*” but underspecified which of his definitions for *vin* he meant, as he includes OE *wyn* in his discussion of it.

A name composed of compounds meaning ‘victory’ and ‘joy’ does not seem to fit with the mythological character of Sigyn, but this has more to do with the first component rather than the second. The etymology endorsed by de Vries (1962, 474 [*Sigyn*]) and Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 813 [*Sigyn*]) from *sig* n. ‘rope which is let down; rope with weights’ is more relevant to extant myths, since Sigyn is helpful to Loki when he is tied down. Considering the frequency of *sig*- ‘victory’ in personal names, the possibility that it is a generic name without correlation to mythological function remains.

4.1.2.5. Discussion

More endings *-yn*, genitive *-ynja* have been proposed for these three goddess names than goddesses themselves. One from *vin* f. ‘meadow’ is known from *Björgvin* ~ *Björgyn* f. ‘Bergen, Norway’ (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 61 [*Björgvin*, †*Björgvin*, †*Björgyn*]) and could apply to *Fjörgyn* or *Hlóðyn* because they are both names for the earth.

None of these solutions seem useful for describing *Sigyn*. She is not an earth-goddess as far as can be discerned, nor does it seem fitting to identify her with victory; a word **vin*, genitive **vinjar* f. ‘(female) friend’ poses etymological difficulties. The simplest explanation is that *-yn* descends from the same source as OE *wyn(n)* f. ‘joy’, a common name component, that being a PGmc. **wunjō*. It is of course not certain that the simplest explanation is best; perhaps mythological information has been lost that would reveal that another ending is more fitting, and on the other hand perhaps **yn* f. ‘joy’ is a component of

Fjörgyn and *Hlóðyn*. These names have been debated for ages and it does not seem likely that the debate will end in the near future.

Whatever the situation, it is clear that none of these names are particularly useful in explaining the construction of *Gefjun*. They hardly vary from a suffix vowel *y*, and there is no situation wherein *Gefjun* could have been formed with a like suffix without umlaut. If Johnsen (2005, 138—145) is right about the effects of Dahl’s Law in Old Icelandic, *Gefjun* would probably have been analyzed as two short syllables and recieved the Sievers’ variant **-ijō*, which would result in an Old Icelandic **Gefynr* or **Gefynn*. The names in *-yn* appear to be wholly separate from the formation of *Gefjun*.

4.1.3. Names in *-n*

4.1.3.1. Introduction

Goddess names which, like *Gefn*, end with *-n* and no suffix vowel, can be found in Snorri Sturluson’s *Gylfaginning* as well as a few other sources. *Gylfaginning* mentions *Sjöfn*, a goddess who turns peoples' minds to love, and *Lofn*, another love goddess who can intervene to overturn prohibited marriages (ed. Faulkes 2005, 29—30 [Ch. 35]). To these can possibly be added *Hq̄rn* or *Hørn*, a name for Freyja according to *Nafnapulur* (ed. Faulkes 1998, 130 [501]); *m̄q̄rn*, which is usually interpreted to mean ‘giant-woman’ (*Lexicon Poeticum* 420 [2. *m̄q̄rn*]; deVries 1962, 26 [*M̄q̄rn*]); *Fj̄q̄rn*, a name for the earth listed in *Nafnapulur* (ed. Faulkes 1998, 130 [501]); and *Nj̄q̄rn*, a name found in *kvenna heiti ókennd* (*Skj* AI:698 [3]).

4.1.3.2. *Sjofn*

Sjofn is described in *Gylfaginning* chapter 35 (ed. Faulkes 2005, 29–30), listed in the *Nafnapulur* (ed. Faulkes 1998, 114–115 [verse 435]), and used in three woman kennings; one in *Plácítúsdrápa* (*Skj* AI: 610[14]) and two in lausavísur from *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (*Skj* BI: 99[17], 103[35]). Unfortunately in none of these attestations is there a genitive, as it would be extremely valuable to know whether it would be *Sjafnar* as in Modern Icelandic or **Sjofnar*. There are a number of compounds incorporating *Sjafnar*- as a component, such as the plant name *Sjafnargras* ‘Thalictrum minus’, but these cannot be demonstrated to have been constructed during the Old Icelandic period, and the root vowel *a* may be analogical.

On the goddess, Snorri says: *Sjaunda Sjofn: hon gætir mjök til at snúa hugum manna til ásta, kvenna ok karla. Af hennar nafni er elskuginn kallaðr sjafni.* (‘Seventh [is] *Sjofn*, she looks after turning peoples’ minds to love, women and men, and from her name is love called *sjafni*’). The word *sjafni* appears in *Skáldskaparmál* chapter 70 (ed. Faulkes 1998, 108) and *Nafnapulur* under *Hugar heiti ok hjarta* (‘heiti of the mind and heart’; *Skj* AI:688[zz]). Snorri’s folk etymology is not likely to be correct, but the words do appear to be related. It seems unlikely that *Sjofn* is derived directly from the verb *sefa* ‘to soothe’, which was already a class-two *ō*-verb in the earliest manuscripts (cf. *Morkinskinna*, GKS 1009 fol) and has no cognates in other Germanic languages. More likely is a derivation from *sefi* m. ‘mind, sense’, a masculine *n*-stem cognate to Old English *sefa* ‘understanding, mind, heart’, which would

require that the word *Sjöfn* not be a deverbal abstract. The words *sefi* and *sjafni* are considered to derive from the same source, a single word with an ablauting *n*-stem paradigm **seþ-an-* ~ **seþ-n-* (Hreinn Benediktsson [1986] 2002, 325). There is therefore more reason to believe that *Sjöfn* is related to *sjafni* and *sefi* than the verb *sefa*.

4.1.3.3. *Lofn*

Of *Lofn*, Gylfaginning chapter 35 says:

Átta *Lofn*: hon er svá mild ok góð til áheita at hon fær leyfi af Alfǫðr eða Frigg til manna samgangs, kvenna ok karla, þótt áðr sé bannat eða þvertakit. Fyrir því er af hennar nafni lof kallat, ok svá þat er lofat er mjök af mǫnnum. (ed. Faulkes 2005, 29)

Eighth [is] *Lofn*, she is so gentle and good to call on that she gets permission from Allfather or Frigg to arrange relationships between people, women and men, though they were previously prohibited or denied. It is from her name that *lof* ('praise') is known, and that she is *lofuð* ('praised') much by men. (author's translation)

The word *Lofn* is only attested as a personal name, and the genitive *Lofnar* appears in a *dróttkvætt* verse from *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* (eds. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson 1938, 107 [verse 25]). The name is attested in various skaldic poems as a part of "woman" kennings (*Skj* BI: 277[1], 385[5], 523[4], 600[32]; BII: 427[33], 573—4[18], 575[23]). In Old Icelandic, the *ō*-verb *lofa* means 'to promise; to praise; to permit'. It also makes up the compound name *Lofnheiðr*. It stands alongside *lofun* 'permission' and *lof*, n. 'praise; permission', which Snorri connects to the goddess and accounts for

both of the meanings ‘permit’ and ‘praise’: the goddess acquires *permission*, for which she is *praised*. Also related are the *ija*-verb *leyfa* ‘to permit; to praise’, *leyfi* sb.n. ‘leave, permission’, and the adjective *ljúfr* ‘mild, gentle’.

The rather broad semantic range of these words, and the place of *Lofn* among them, can be clarified somewhat with cognates in other Germanic languages. The *ō*-verb *lofa* ‘to promise; praise; permit’ also has a reflex in OE *lufian* ‘to praise, highly value’ and derivative *lufung*, sb.f. ‘the act of loving’, which corresponds by means of its construction to OI *lofun* sb.f. ‘permission’.²⁰ Cognate to the OI *leyfa* ‘to permit; to praise’ and *leyfi* ‘leave, permission’ are Goth. *galaubjan* v. ‘to believe; to permit’ and *galaubeins* ‘belief’, OE (ge)*leafa* sb.m. ‘permission’ and (ge)*leaf* sb.n. ‘permission’. In Gothic, **lubains* sb.f. ‘hope’, attested in the genitive singular *lubainais* answers to OE *lufen* sb.f. ‘hope.’ These seem to be reconstructable to **lubēniz*, itself derived from an *ē*-verb which almost certainly meant ‘to hope’. The verb itself is attested in OHG *lobên*, but it has merged with the *ō*-stem *lobôn* in meaning (von Steinmeyer, et al. 1968—, 5:1235 [*lobôn*]). Most of the words here analyzed have a great deal of semantic overlap in the daughter languages and therefore it would not be surprising if they did already in the proto-language, so it is significant that the *ē*-stem and its derivatives are identical in meaning in both Gothic and Old English.

²⁰ Unlike both North and East Germanic, West Germanic formed deverbal feminine abstracts from *ō*-verb **-ungō-* rather than **-ōni-* (Krahe and Meid 1969, III:117 [§98]; 209-211 [§152]).

Though the \bar{e} -verb does not occur in Old Icelandic, it is from this source that *Lofn* is most easily explained as deriving, as the name is exactly the expected cognate of Gothic **lubains* and Old English *lufen*. If this is the case, the name means ‘hope’ rather than relating directly to praise or permission, but because the verb meaning ‘hope’ no longer survived in Snorri’s language, he was unable to identify the goddess with it. If this is true, Snorri probably did not have any mythological information about her, but still needed to explain the name because of its use in skaldic poetry. This conclusion is furthermore supported by the female personal name *Lubaini* (dative) attested in a Latin inscription in modern-day Belgium (CIL XIII 3622), which Neumann ([1983] 2008, 38) agrees corresponds to Gothic *lubains* as discussed above.

Meid (1957, 121) considered *Lofn* a feminine Hoffmann formation equivalent to a masculine name *Lobbon(n)us* appearing in a devotional inscription from Utrecht, and reconstructed **Lubānō*, but Simek (1993, 189 [(*Lobbon(n)us*)] dismisses this as “imaginative interpretation” of an illegible inscription. Meid’s reconstruction is feasible, but his evidence should be rejected. It is also not clear that the second-syllable **a* in **Lubānō* would have syncopated in OI, see §6.2.

4.1.3.4. *Hqrn*, *Hørn*

Hqrn or *Hørn* is listed as one of Freyja’s several alternative names listed in *Gylfaginning* chapter 35, along with *Gefn* (ed. Faulkes 2005, 29) and in *Nafnapulur* appears both in a list of names of Freyja and names of troll-women.

The genitive occurs in the third strophe of Einarr Skúlason's *dróttkvætt* poem *Óxarflokkur*, which the manuscript evidence suggests is *Hǫrnar* or *Hørnar* with the same umlauted vowel as the nominative ("hoznar" GKS 3267 4to 28r32; "hoznar" AM 242 fol 73,7; "hoznaz" Traj 1347 fol 29r32). The identity of the root vowel is uncertain; it is sometimes given as *Hörn* (deVries 1962, 277 [*Hörn*]; Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 413 [*1 Hörn*, *†Hörn*]) though also to *Hǫrn* (Skj B:II, 234[15], 436[37]; Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, eds. 2009, 481). Verse 11 of the *dróttkvætt* poem *Geirviðardrápa* by Stjörnu-Oddi Helgason rhymes it with *stjörnu*, though it is not clear that the poem can be trusted to distinguish *ǫ* and *ø* due to the possibility that it was composed too late a date (*Stjörnu-Odda draumr*, in eds. Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson 2009, ccxxii-ccxxiii [§35]).

Because of the umlauted genitive, the word has been connected to the masculine *wa*-stem *hǫrr*, genitive *hǫrvar* 'flax; linen' (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 413 [*1 Hörn*, *†Hörn*]). The reason for this is that the root-final **w* of **harwaz* or **harzwaz*, from which *hǫrr* is likely derived, is a possible explanation for umlaut where the inflectional ending is not responsible for it.

A vowel *ø* would have arisen by means of both *i*- and *u*-umlaut, cf. OI *sökkva* v. 'to sink', from **sankwijan-* (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002c [1963], 151; given as PN **sankwian*). Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 413 [*1 Hörn*, *†Hörn*]) suggests a reconstruction **harw-īnō*, meaning 'flax-goddess', agreeing with de Vries (1962, 277 [*Hörn*]), which is possible but would likely mean the OI form is *Hǫrn*, as it has already been demonstrated that the ending **-īnō*

regularly fails to cause *i*-umlaut (see §3.1.2). On the other hand, the name is possibly reflected in Swedish place names *Härnevi* and *Järnevi* (de Vries (1962, 277 [*Hørn*]), and East Norse, unlike its western counterpart, regularly *does* show *i*-umlaut in these constructions (cf. OS, OD *værn*, OI *vørn* f. ‘defense’). The question then becomes whether or not the *u*-umlaut is regular, and why it is not shown in the Swedish place-names. This possibility can be demonstrated by Dan. *gøre*, Sw. *göra* v. ‘to do, prepare’, OI *gōra* v. ‘id.’ from **garwijan-* (Ringe 2006, 222), alongside Dan. *sænke*, Sw. *sänka* v. ‘to sink (transitive)’, OI *sōkkva* ‘id.’ from **sankwijan-* (Hreinn Benediktsson [1963] 2002, 151). It may be that *Hørn* represents the regular development in Old Icelandic, while *Hørn* is a loanword from an East Norse language, which was subsequently unrounded in its language of origin, giving *Härn-* in compounds.

4.1.3.5. *Mørn*

The word *mørn* is somewhat obscure, both in terms of its phonological history and its meaning. It occurs twice in kennings for the jötunn Þjazi in *Haustlōng* (*Skj* BI: 15[6], 16[12]), wherein he is called *faðir morna* and *faðir mornar*. It also occurs repeatedly in *Vǫlsa þáttr* (eds. Guðbrandr Vigfússon and Unger 1862, 2:331–336), the participants in a pagan ritual recite verses in turn and each end them with “þiggi mornir þetta blóti” (‘may *mornir* accept this sacrifice’), although it is not certain that the word is a plural of *mørn* f. ‘troll-woman’ or a singular *mornir* m. ‘sword (name for Vǫlsi?)’. It also occurs in *Nafnapulur* (ed. Faulkes 1998, 112 [425]), two verses by Einarr Gilsson,

Þórsdrápa, and an anonymous *fornyrðislag* verse from the 13th century (*Skj* BI: 141[7], BII: 152[22], 422[16], 438[14]). It is generally interpreted to mean a type of ogress or other female supernatural being. Þjazi is a giant and the father of Skaði, who is probably meant when *mǫrn* is used in the singular in *Haustlǫng*.²¹ The root vowel *ǫ* rather than *ø* is confirmed by *Þórsdrápa* 7, line 6: “þōs barna *ser* mǫrnar” (Finnur Jónsson 1912, AI:149 [verse 7]), where *ǫ* is necessary for *mǫrnar* to achieve full-rhyme with *barna*.

The manuscript evidence suggests that the root contained an unlauded vowel even in the singular genitive (*mǫrnar*), plural nominative (*mǫrnir*), and possibly plural genitive (*mǫrna*). *Flateyjarbók* GKS 1005 fol [121vb37] reads “maurn^ǰ” (*maurnir*) although as this is from *Vǫlsa þáttr* it is uncertain whether this is a plural of a feminine word *mǫrn* or a singular of a masculine word *mǫrnir*, as described above (facsimile Finnur Jónsson 1930). Examples of more secure identifications from with the feminine substantive from *Haustlǫng* include GKS 2367 4to [25v14] “morna” and [25v32] “mornar”, Traj 1375 fol [26v10] “mornar”, and AM 262 fol. [55:22] “morna”.

It seems unlikely that an analogical change would have generalized the vowel, as alternation between *ǫ* and *a* is extremely common in feminine words, including feminine deverbal abstracts in *-n* < **īni-*, such as *vǫrn*, gen. *varnar* ‘defense’ (from *verja* ‘to defend’) and *þǫgn*, gen. *þagnar* ‘silence’ (from *þegja* ‘to

²¹ The plural form in the poem is sometimes corrected to singular *mǫrnar*, but whether Þjazi was father to one or many, he is himself a giant so the definition of *mǫrn* must at least include, if not exclusively, ‘offspring of a giant’.

be silent’; see also §3.1.2). Therefore it would be a very rare exception if the word derived from the *ja*-verb *merja* ‘to bruise, crush’, past tense *marði*, for which a derived noun *mqrn* should have a genitive **marnar*. If a phonological explanation lies behind the genitive and plural nominative, it might be compared to *gǫlnar* f.pl. ‘gills’. The fact that it shows umlaut throughout the paradigm means that the umlaut is independent of the feminine *ō*-stem substantive suffix and suggests a construction similar to that of *Gefn*, which does not show the expected u-umlaut or breaking, so in both cases there must be a syncopated vowel that affected the root, blocking the effect of the morphological ending.

One possibility is that the word is related to the word *mqrr*, dative *mqrvi* ‘suet’. In the modern language there is a verb *mörva* ‘to fatten an animal’, but it is rare, not found in *ONP*, and is a class-two *ō*-verb with a third-person preterite *mörvaði*, so an expected feminine deverbial abstract would be **mqrun/*mqrvan* or modern **mörvun*, and would be very difficult to explain why this would be an appropriate name for a being or group of beings. If, on the other hand, the ending were a personalizing suffix describing, perhaps, a type of spirit associated with hunting or herding animals, which receives sacrifices of animal fat, are household kitchen spirits, or some other speculative solution, it may not be necessary to derive the word from a verb²².

²² If Skaði is meant by the singular *mqrn* in *Haustlong* the former two suggestions seem more applicable, though the occurrence in *Vqlsa þáttr* leaves room for the latter; the word is not

Another possibility, suggested by Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 654 [Mörn]), is that the word is related to *mara* f. 'mare', a malicious spirit in folklore which “rides” a sleeping person, causing them to have bad dreams, and which is reflected in the second component of the English *nightmare*. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 654 [Mörn]) gives the reconstruction **mar(u)nō*, but the *u* which he gives in parentheses is necessary to explain the ubiquitous umlaut throughout the paradigm. Although feminine deverbals from **-īni-* are polysyllabics which regularly fail to show *i*-umlaut (Johnsen 2012; see §3.1.2), this is apparently not the case with polysyllabics with *u* as the vowel of the second syllable. For example the datives of *jökull* m. ‘glacier’ and *mōndull* m. ‘handle’ are *jökli* and *mōndli*, which show *u*-umlaut after the vowel which triggered it has been syncopated. Though this can possibly be explained as analogical leveling, the same is not seen among masculine polysyllabics with *i*-umlaut, such as *ketill* m. ‘kettle’, dative *katli*. It seems that *mōrn* allows for two possible reconstructions, **marw-an-ō* and **mar-un-ō*, with the morphological ending subsequently being changed to **-ō* or *-u* depending on the time of the change. It is not altogether clear how a derivation from *mara* f. ‘mare (spirit)’ would produce a **marunō*, although a relationship between *mara* and *mōrn* on mythological grounds is more intuitive.

metrically necessary in *Vǫlsa þáttr* so the poet seems to have chosen it unmotivated by external requirements.

4.1.3.6. *Fjorn*

Nafnapulur (ed. Faulkes 1998, 130 [501]) and *kvenna heiti ókennd* (*Skj* AI: 698[3]) list *Fjorn*, the former as a name for the earth, mentioning *Fjorgyn* in the same verse. The word could be related to OI *fjor* n. ‘life’, OE *feorh* n. ‘id.’, Got. *fairhuus* m. ‘world’. This is the interpretation supported by Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 183 [*fjorn*]), who reconstructs **ferhwnō*, in which case it is possible that it is related to *Fjorgyn*, (see §4.1.2.2 above for *Fjorgyn*).

In §3.2 a suffix was mentioned which is related to the Hoffmann suffix, another type of formation denoting a place which is characterized by an abundance of something. The examples given were *Bókn* and *Hveðn*, two names for islands listed in the *pulur*, with names which might mean ‘a place with/characterized by beech trees’ and ‘a place with/characterized by foam’. It would make sense for *fjorn*, as a name of the earth, to be interpreted as ‘a place where there is *fjor* (life)’. It is not unlikely that *Fjorgyn* and *fjorn* are formed from the same root, although either, or both, could just as easily be formed from *fjorr* m. ‘tree’ rather than *fjor* n. ‘life’, but it is more likely that they were formed separately, with *Fjorgyn* being the older form, composed before the phonemicization of Verner’s Law in order for the change **h* to **g* to occur. The evidence of the *Matronae Nerhvinæ* (§4.2.2.3) speaks in support of this theory.

4.1.3.7. *Njorn*

The name *Njorn* is listed in *kvenna heiti ókennd* while *Njorun* is not, which might be taken to mean they are alternates of each other, and therefore

also possibly that *Gefjun* and *Gefn* are as well. Though possible, it is also not quite definitive, as names listed in *kvenna heiti ókennd* include many which are not goddess names; it is simply a list of words which can be used as components of kennings for “woman,” and includes goddess names, trees, and other things. Another possibility that should not be discounted is that *Njǫrn* is a misreading of *Mǫrn*, given that *i* is not dotted in early orthography and capitals are not common; it can be rather difficult to discern “niorn” from “morn”. Indeed, this very thing may have happened in *trǫllkvenna heiti*, where the word which Faulkes normalizes to “Mǫrn” he reads as “niavrn” in the *Codex Regius* GKS 2367 4to [42r22] (ed. Faulkes 1998, 150). Nonetheless, that they may be alternates of each other cannot be ruled out. Again, the Herrschersuffix and the remodelling according to Syrett (1994, 187–204 [§7.6]) may offer a solution; *Njǫrn* could descend from a remodeled form **nerwīnō*, with the **-ī-* failing to leave a trace as in the **-īni-* deverbals (§3.1.2).

It might be unwise to place a deity attested in a Roman-era West Germanic inscription in a medieval Scandinavian text, but if either of these two names is related to the *Nervinae* (§4.2.2.4), *Njǫrn* is the more expected reflex. Still, with so few attestations and no attested genitive, it is even more difficult to make conjectures about *Njǫrn* than about *Njǫrun*.

4.1.3.8. Discussion

Of the names listed above, only one, *Lofn*, can be easily derived from a verb²³. It is possible that *Sjofn* derived from the verb *sefa* (‘to soothe’), but this is less likely than other possibilities. The others have major obstacles to such a derivation. *Mqrn* is the best attested of the words analyzed here and has the advantage of frequent use in the plural, and curiously it shows umlaut throughout the paradigm, probably due to either a stem-final *w* in the root or a syncopated *u* in an earlier, polysyllabic form of the word.

Many of these names show strong signs of Hoffmann formations according to the remodeling of **-an-* in participles, adjectives, and possibly substantives proposed by Syrett (1994, 203–4 [§7.6.5], for which see §3.2). *Hqrn/Hørn* in particular might reflect East- and West-Norse variants exactly as predicted if it comes from **harwīnō*. The possible doublet *Njqrn* : *Njqrn* might be explainable as respectively deriving from a pre-remodeling **nerwanō* and post-remodeling **nerwīnō* (see also §4.2.2.4). This may go a long way in explaining *Gefjun* and *Gefn*, a possibility which will be explored in the coming chapters as more evidence is gathered.

²³ Note that, while a verbal derivation for *Lofn* is supportable by evidence and certainly the simplest solution, it is also not entirely necessary; if an alternative solution must be sought for the other names then it may apply to *Lofn* as well, and without a plural it is difficult to know with certainty what class of substantive *Lofn* is.

4.2. *Matronae* and Latin Devotional Epigraphy

4.2.1. The *Matronae* cult

An important source for pagan beliefs of the first few centuries, A.D. is a body of votive inscriptions concentrating in the areas of the Roman Empire along the Rhine River. Hundreds of inscriptions and relief sculptures have been found which have been dedicated to gods and goddesses worshiped by Celtic and Germanic peoples (Beck 2009). The inscriptions are in Latin, and Roman deity names appear frequently, though often accompanied by a name or epithet which seems to reflect the language of the local culture (Simek 1993, 207—8 [*Matron names*]; Beck 2009, 49—50). For example *Mars Thingus*, attested on a fourth-century stone altar at Hadrian's Wall, is taken to be a god presiding over the legal assembly known in Old Icelandic as the *þing*. He is often identified by modern scholars with the god Týr because they were equated through *interpretation germanica*, resulting in modern *Tuesday* from Latin *dies Marti*, although it is also possible that this was an independent deity unrelated to Týr and unknown in Icelandic sources (Simek 1996, 203 [*Mars Thingus*]). In other inscriptions, there are no identifiable Roman theonyms, but rather a title in Latin, or sometimes simply a name adapted into Latin from the Germanic or Celtic (e.g. *Hludana*, *Nehelennia*). An important subgroup of these divinities is those which appear primarily in the plural, generally depicted in groups of three when accompanied by an abbreviation, and are given the title *mātrēs* or *mātrōnae* (Beck 2009, 39). Epithets other than *mātrēs* or *mātrōnae* are much less

common, but include *Iūnōnēs* ‘Junos’, *Parcae* ‘fates’, *Fatae* ‘fates’, *Nymphae* ‘nymphs; brides’, and others (Beck 2009, 82–106).

There are no sources which elucidate the worship of the *matronae* beyond the inscriptions themselves, and much remains obscure about its nature. For example, it is difficult to understand why the *matronae* often appear in groups of three, and several possible interpretations present themselves. Triplism is a common element in Gaulish archaeology and insular Celtic mythology including triplicate goddesses such as the Mórrígain, and even the island of Ireland is represented by the three goddesses Ériu, Banba, and Fótla (Beck 2009, 77–8). Triplism also occurs frequently in Germanic mythology, notably in the case of the three norns Urðr, Verðandi, and Skuld, who, according to *Völuspá* emerge from a body of water at the base of the world tree (or a hall by the well according to *Gylfaginning* chapter 15; ed. Faulkes 2005, 18) and dispense fate (*Völuspá*, ed. Neckel and Kuhn [verse 20]); this might also underlie the set of three creator gods Óðinn, Vili, and Vé found in *Gylfaginning* chapter 6. An important question is, since the manifestation of the *matronae* cult in Latin devotional inscriptions clearly reflects a partial syncretism of elements from different cultures, whether the designation *matronae* or the triplicate form were actually native to the Germanic peoples, or whether one or both spread along with the concept of devotional inscriptions in general.

It is unclear how the word *matrona* should be interpreted. The basic meaning is ‘married woman’ but can also be applied to high-ranking young

girls (Glare 1968, 1084 [*mātrōna*]). Some or all may have been considered literal mothers, and their epithets may in some cases reflect tribal associations, as Shaw (2011) has argued especially regarding the *Matronae Austriahenae*. However Simek (1996, 204 [*Matrons*]) notes that the iconography found in relief illustrations include depictions of girls with loose hair, suggesting that they are not married, in addition to others with the dress of married women. The title *matrona* should, in this context, be regarded as indicating importance and authority rather than meaning that *matronae* are necessarily married women or mothers, even though that also occurs.

4.2.2. Comparison of *Matronae* names to Old Icelandic names

4.2.2.1. (-)Gabiae : Gefjun/Gefn

At least fourteen devotional inscriptions with theonyms including an element *gabi* can be found in the epigraphic corpus.²⁴ The name *Gabiabus*, occurs three times on its own (CIL XIII 7856, 7939, 7940), three times with the title *Matronis* (CIL XIII 7780, 7937, 7938), twice accompanied by *Iunonibus* ‘Junos’; once as a title (CIL XIII 8192) and interestingly once reading *Iunonibus sive Gabiabus* ‘to the Junos or the Gabiae’ (CIL XIII 8612). It is also found in a compound *Matronis Alagabiabus* (CIL XIII 8529) which is believed to be a Germanic prefix **ala-* ‘all’, and also *Ollogabiabus* (CIL XIII 7280) which is

²⁴ CIL XIII 7280 *Ollogabiabus*, 7780 *Matronis Gabiabus*, 7856 *Gabiabus*, 7867 *Deae Idbans Gabiae*, 7937 *Matronis Gabiabus*, 7938 *Matronis Gabiabus*, 7939 *Gabiabus*, 7940 *Gabiabus*, 8192 *Ivnoniibus Cabiabus*, 8529 *Matronis Alagabiabus*, 8612 *Ivnonibus sive Gabiabus*; AE 1924 *Deabus Alaisiagis Baudihillie et Friagabi*, 94; AE 1981 *Gabinis*, 678; RIB 1071 *Deae Garmangabi*.

taken to be the Celtic equivalent of the same (Beck 2009, 67). The form *Gabiabus* is, according to Neumann ([2003] 2008, 246), is a nonstandard dative plural also found for example in *deabus* f. ‘goddess’ (dat.) indicating a nominative plural *Gabiae*, and the name also appears in a singular dative *Deae Idbans Gabiae* (CIL XIII 7867; Gutenbrunner 1936, 90 reads *Idiangabiae* instead; Simek 1996, 170 [*Idban(?)gabia*] says it is difficult to be sure). A similar *Gabinis* (AE 1981, 678), also dative plural (nominative given *Gabinae* by Beck 2009, 66), is found, and two compound names, *Deae Garmangabi* (RIB 1071) and *Friagabi* (AE 1924, 94) also occur. All of these are found in Germany except for *Garmangabi* and *Friagabi*, which are both located in Britain.

The etymology of *Gabiae* and the other similar names have been debated thoroughly. Much (1891, 316–7) considered it a deverbal from the same source as the word *gefjanda* that appears in the Codex Regius (GKS 2365 4to [22r25]), describing Njǫrðr as *gefjanda guð*. He does not propose a meaning, but says that the Gothic would be **gabjōn*. This explanation does not seem to have enjoyed much currency, presumably because the reading *gefjanda* in GKS 2365 4to does not seem widely regarded as accurately reflecting a kenning for Njǫrðr (see section 6.1.2 for discussion of **gefja*) although on strictly phonological grounds this makes more sense than a derivation from **geban-* v. ‘to give’.

The discussion of Kern (1870, 156–7) is more interesting. He connects the name to Dutch *gave* f. ‘gift, talent’ as well as to OI *gifta* v. ‘to marry (transitive); to give away in marriage’. With unfortunately little elaboration he notes that in an inscription *Matronibus* is replaced by *Junonibus* and that this

may signify that they were considered to be in his words “*Junones pronubae*”²⁵. As discussed in section 6.1, the identification of *gipta* and *Gabiae* or *Gefjun* is not etymologically straightforward, but there are other reasons to suppose a connection to marriage. In Roman religion, Juno was a goddess of marriage, although it is now believed that the direct association she was once considered to have with the marriage itself is inaccurate (Hersch 2010, 262–4). In Norse mythology *Gefjun* is said to be a goddess of unmarried women, which contrasts sharply with Juno (and so perhaps also the *Gabiae*) but within the same thematic sphere, relating respectively to the time before and the time after the marriage.

The most common interpretation of *Gabiae* is similar to the most common interpretation of *Gefjun*, that it is ultimately derived from a verb **geban*- ‘to give’ and that it means ‘givers’ (Neumann [1987] 2008, 263; [2003] 2008, 233; Beck 2009, 66; Simek 1996, 97 [*Gabiae*]). At one time Neumann ([2003] 2008, 233), who wrote about the word several times throughout his career, compares its formation to *fylgja* f. ‘fetch, a type of spirit’ in order to account for the *j*, not noticing that *fylgja* is formed from a verb which also has a *j*. He also compared OHG *rāt-gebo* m. ‘counselor’ and OE *ring-geba* m. ‘ring-giver’, but again, there is no explanation for the **j* or **ij* that he attempted to explain by comparison to *fylgja*. He also noted that this explanation did not account for the root vowel *e* rather than *a*.

²⁵ For discussion of Roman *pronubae* see Hersch 2010, especially pp. 190–212.

While not all of Neumann’s argument holds up, one element of it is particularly interesting. In his discussion of *Garmangabis* (Neumann [1998] 2008, 365—366 [*Garmangabis*]), he wrote that in *Gabiabus* (dat.) and *-gabi* (dat.), there is evidence of an **ī/jō*-stem substantive with an inflectional paradigm descendent from the same origin as Skt. *devī* f. ‘goddess’, nom.pl. *devyah*; Lithuanian *martì* f. ‘girl’, nom.pl. *maĩčios*. Gutenbrunner (1936, 44) made the same suggestion and offered a reconstruction **gabī(z)*²⁶, supposing a nominative singular *Gabis*. There are other reasons to suggest a PGmc. **gabī* ~ **gabjō*- as well, for which see §6.1.2. If Johnsen (2005, 117—9 [§2.11.4]) is correct that **gabīn* f. (Goth. *gabei* f. ‘riches’) resulted from an *n*-stem extension to an original **gabī*, the *īn*-stem may be what resulted in the name *Gabinis* (dat.). It should be noted that alongside *-gabi* there is also a singular dative *Deae Idbans Gabiae*, possibly indicating uncertainty regarding how to adapt the word to the Latin declension system; Gutenbrunner (1936, 90) gives this a nominative singular *Idiangabis*. The partial paradigm in Latin which can be arranged from the works of Neumann ([1998] 2008, 365—6 [*Garmangabis*]) and Gutenbrunner (1936, 43—4, 90) is as follows:

²⁶ The PGmc nominative ending of *ī/jō*-stems was **-ī*, with a Gothic reflex *-i* (cf. *mawi*, acc. *mauja* f. ‘girl’) but reflexes in OI have a nominative ending *-r* such as *mær*, acc. *mey* (Johnsen 2005, 62—7 [§4.2.2.1.]). West Germanic lost word-final **-z* so it is unsure what happened in the nominative of *ī/jō*-stems (Johnsen 2005, 35—6 [§2.2.1]), but Gutenbrunner seems to think, or at least consider the possibility, that it was also added to this word class in West Germanic before it was lost.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>nom.</i>	*Gabis	*Gabiae
<i>dat.</i>	Gabi/Gabiae	Gabiabus

Table 4.3: A partial paradigm of a Latinized Germanic gabiae according to Neumann ([1998] 2008, 365—6 [Garmangabis]) and Gutenbrunner (1936, 43—4, 90)

It is perhaps unwise to put too much faith into the evidence provided by Latin endings attached to Germanic root as a reflection the inflectional morphology of the Germanic word, but this is a compelling argument. A Latin d.sg. *Gabi* would be expected to correspond to a nominative *Gabis*, but a d.sg. *Gabiae* would be a closer approximation of a Germanic $\bar{i}/\bar{j}\bar{o}$ -stem, possibly **gabjōi* or *gabjai* according to Johnsen (2005, 37 [§2.2.3]).

4.2.2.2. *Hludana/Hluθena* : *Hlōðyn*

Hludana is not a *matrona*, but is attested rather as a singular *dea* f. ‘goddess’. Meid (1957, 120) considered the name to be composed from a word *holda*, a type of spirit or demon, but that metathesis does not seem very likely. Gutenbrunner (1936, 74—5) considered it related to *Hlōðyn* and to be a name for the earth as a goddess. There may be precedent for the vowel * \bar{o} being written “u” in Roman Germania with alternation between *Romanehae* and *Rumanehae* (Neumann [1987] 2008, 255), although these could also reflect a Latinized version (based on *Rōmā*) and a form based on Germanic **Rūmō* (cf. Goth. *Ruma*). Gutenbrunner (1936, 83—7) notes that in one inscription it is spelled *Hluθena* and calls the suffix vowel *e* “Schwachung” (‘weakening’). Both

the root and the suffix are difficult to explain, but perhaps rather than weakening the variation in suffix reflects either ablaut or productivity of one suffix. He accurately points out that even if the roots are the same in *Hludana* and *Hlóðyn*, the suffixes are completely different. This might be due to active processes of name formation, but unfortunately any relationship or lack thereof between the two names is impossible to determine with confidence.

4.2.2.3. *Alaferhviae* : *Fjörgyn*

The *Matronae* or *Nymphae Alaferhviae* seem to have a name composed of **ala-* ‘all’ attached to **ferhw-*, either meaning ‘tree’ (OI *fjǫrr* ‘tree’, Lat. *quercus* m. ‘oak tree’) or ‘life’ or ‘world’ (OI *fjǫr* n. ‘life’, OE *feorh* n. ‘life’, Goth. *fairhus* m. ‘world’; this interpretation is supported by Gutenbrunner [2001] 2008, 404). If *Fjörgyn* is composed of one of these words, which seems likely, the consonant **h* has become voiced by Verner’s Law, which has clearly not happened to *Alaferhviae*. What can be gathered from this is that the word probably had currency as a naming component, with different examples forming independently of each other.

4.2.2.4. *Nervinae* : *Njǫrun*

The *Nervinae* are attested in one inscription in Bavay, France (CIL XIII, 3569) in the dative plural *Nervinis* with a first declension ending. The name seems to reflect a tribal affiliation with the *Nervii* described by Tacitus (ed. Hutton 1914, 302—3) and Strabo (ed. Jones 1917, 194) as a tribe residing in Gaul but claiming Germanic ancestry, and whose capital was Bavay according

to Gutenbrunner (1936, 153). According to Neuman ([2003] 2008, 230), the goddesses were named for the tribe, which was itself named for the landscape in which they lived or originated; that is, they may have lived near a land formation or body of water which was named for the characteristic attribute of being ‘narrow’, and cites *Njörvasund* for precedent of the use of the adjective in place names. His proposed etymology is that the name was an adjectival suffix **-īn-* attached to **narwa-* adj. ‘engeschnürt, eng’; though Neumann does not mention it specifically there is precedent for the fluctuation between **narwa-* and **nerwa-*, for which see §4.1.1.2.

The name could easily be built on the same root as OI *Njōrun*, as a PGmc. **nerw-* would most likely develop into **njōrv-* by *u*-breaking, and the *v* would then be lost before the round vowel *u*. If *Nervinae* is a Romanized plural of a Germanic **nerwīnō*, it could even be cognate with the name *Njōrn* that appears in *Nafnaþulur* (for *Njōrn* see §4.1.3.7; for syncope of unstressed **ī* see §3.1.2 and §3.2).

It is very reasonable to connect the *Nervinae* to *Njōrun* and *Njōrn* on strictly phonological grounds, but there are even greater concerns related to the possible transmission of the name than there are with *Gabiae* and *Gefjun*. The *Nervii* were a Belgic tribe, although allegedly they considered themselves to be of Germanic ancestry. It would be difficult to explain why the name of a goddess or set of goddesses with affiliation to a specific tribe that was prominent in the first few centuries A.D. in Gaul would be preserved intact a thousand years later in Iceland. A solution may lie in Neumann’s ([2003] 2008, 231)

understanding. It need not be assumed that the presence of similar name on two disparate fringes of the history of European polytheism indicates and actual continuity between the *Nervinae* attested in Gaul and the names *Njǫrun* and *Njǫrn* in *Nafnapulur* and skaldic poetry if instead it is supposed that **narwa-* ~ **nerwa-* had widespread currency as a possible component for compounding and derivation of names. Note that according to Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 670 [*Njarar*]) the group name *Njarar* m.pl. appearing in *Vǫlundarkviða* has been connected to the Nervii, though Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon does not express acceptance of that etymology.

If it is true that *Nervinae* is composed with an adjectival suffix **-īn-*, it is evidence in favor of Syrett's (1994, 187–204 [§7.6]) suggestion that the adjectival suffix **-īn-* could be used to form substantives in the vein of *Óðinn*, and simultaneously accords with Meid's (1957, 75–81) description of the **-no-* suffix denoting representation of a group of people, though that might be skipping a step. Even if Neumann's ([2003] 2008, 231) **nerwīn-* is accepted, the medial vowel could result from the tribal name, which Gutenbrunner (1936, 153) reconstructs **Nerwiōz* (**Nerwijōz* by more current orthography), rather than from a method of word formation which Syrett (1994, 187–204 [§7.6]) proposed specifically for North Germanic. Neumann's ([2003] 2008, 231) phonological reconstruction makes sense, but the actual process of derivation he describes need not be accepted in order to arrive at it.

4.3. Conclusion

The Matronae Gabiae and Nervinae provide important evidence for the interpretation of *Gefjun* : *Gefn* and *Njǫrun* : *Njǫrn*. While the names do not quite allow for positive identification as the same deities who appear in Old Icelandic sources, all of the names seem to point toward name-formation as an active and ongoing process in the first few hundred years, A.D. Perhaps the most valuable part of this chapter is the position of Gutenbrunner (1936, 44) and Neumann ([1998] 2008, 365–6 [Garmangabis]) that the name of the Matronae Gabiae is composed from an *ī/jō*-stem, which is an idea that will be explored in greater detail in §6.1.3.3.

So far, a strong case can be made for both deverbals and Hoffmann formations as sources of feminine names in Old Icelandic. It is true that *Lofn* could theoretically also be a Hoffmann formation, the name Lubaini (dative) in a Latin inscription (CIL XIII 3622) strongly suggests a deverbale from an *ē*-verb. If the name in the inscription is not of parallel formation to Old Icelandic *Lofn*, it is still evidence for deverbale name-derivation. For other names such as *Hǫrn* and *mǫrn* other explanations have needed to be sought and the Hoffmann formation seems to better account for the words and their paradigms than other explanations. No conclusion can be reached until the word *Gefjun* is examined more closely, in order to determine with the most confidence possible its paradigm as it existed in Old Icelandic.

5. Old Icelandic Manuscript Evidence

5.1 Attestations of *Gefjun*

In preparation for the present work, 150 attestations of the name *Gefjun* were collected from manuscripts when available and editions of manuscripts if they were available but the manuscript itself was not. An additional attestation was rejected for illegibility. There was one instance where the scribe included two variants, in which case both variants are counted. The attestations are listed in Appendix 1 along with their grammatical case, manuscript, title of the text, and approximate date. The page and line number are included when possible, otherwise the page number in the edition is given.

There are no major surprises regarding the first syllable. Typically the name begins “gef” and occasionally “gief”, the latter reflecting palatalization of *g* by the following front vowel *e* (Kristján Árnason 100—3 [§6.2.2]). Only one, LBS 3936 4to 248r24-25 “Gif|ión” dated 1880—1883, definitely has a different root vowel. AM 235 fol 37r26, dated c.1400 looks like “gofion” although it is not certain; the scribe’s “e” has a large loop in general and it probably is “gefion”. A handful of copies of *Droplaugarsona saga* write “v” for *f* (JS 450 4to [34r12] “Gievion”; JS 630 4to [78v4] “Gevion”; LBS 2116 4to [19r15] “Geveon”). In Lbs 756, dated by the scribe in 1777, *Gefjun* appears four times, twice (18r8 and 43rc24) written “Geffion”, and otherwise (8r2 and in another hand from 1854, 7v17) “Gefion”. These isolated incidents of variance are expected and normal.

The representation of the suffix vowel is more noteworthy. As discussed in §3.1.3, Old Icelandic had only three unstressed vowels, and the non-low, back, rounded vowel which Hreinn Benediktsson (2002 [1962], 78–9 [§2.4]) writes [ʊ] could be written “o”, “u”, or “v” without any distinction or implied difference in sound. With attestations of *Gefjun* there is fluctuation between “o” and “u” (or “v”, an allograph of “u” in medieval Icelandic orthography), but “o” dominates to an unexpected degree. Two instances of “a” were also found, but it should be noted that both of these (rubric in AM 35 fol 9v and Holm. papp. 18 fol 2v) are copies of the same, mostly lost, manuscript *Kringla* Lbs fragm 82. AM 35 fol even has a note by the copyist correcting it to “Gefion” (both are counted in the analysis). Finally, one instance of an ending *-inn* was found in AM 750 4to [5r1–2], dated to the second half of the 17th century, reading “Giefion ê gief|in̄” (*Gefjun eða gefinn*); only the former was counted.

Unlike the analysis of **ōni-* deverbals in §3.1.3, attestations of *Gefjun* were gathered from any date, including many post-medieval manuscripts. This decision was made for the purpose of observing the development of the word into the modern paradigm.

	Total	Percentage
“a”	2	1.33
“o”	126	84.00
“u”/“v”	22	14.66

Table 5.1: the representation of suffix vowel in attestation of *Gefjun* by total and percentage.

The prevalence of “o” is striking. This extends even to manuscripts which typically render the unstressed non-low back vowel with “u”, for example *Codex Wormianus* AM 242 fol. wherein “u” clearly dominates (for example on page 8, with three attestations of *Gefjun*, only one unstressed non-low back vowel occurs written “o”, in “troío” *Tróju* ‘Troy’, compared to at least thirty written “u”), but *Gefjun* is spelled with a suffix vowel “o” in all of its seven occurrences (see also AM 242 fol. [9:18] “húíu” *hverju*, [10:9] “miðiū” *miðjum*, [13:19] “iarnviðíur” *járnviðjur* for representation of unstressed sequence *ju* in the same manuscript).

It is also noteworthy that among those that do use “u”, the *Codex Regius* of the Prose Edda GKS 2367 4to uses “u” in five out of seven attestations in the same text as *Codex Wormianus* AM 242 fol. and it is inconceivable that *Codex Wormianus* was the innovator in this regard. A “u” spelling is also common in copies of *Nafnaþulur* and *Jóns saga postula*. AM 544 4to *Hauksbók* uses both interchangeably. In thirty-five attestations from copies of *Droplaugarsona saga*, only two, Lbs 1511 4to [111v11], dated 1888, and Lbs 5157 4to [15v18] dated to the second half of the 19th century, use “u”. Only one “u” was found in a copy of *Heimskringla* (AM 38 fol [4v18]) making “Gefian” slightly less rare within that text (out of 12 attestations found). In many texts such as *Lokasenna*, *Völsa þáttr*, and most saints’ sagas, “u” is never used at all.

This data can be compared to *table 3* in §3.1.3 for a comparison to *-ōni-deverbals. The difference is quite extreme; the prevalence of “o” in *Gefjun*,

84%, is almost the same as the 83.83% prevalence of “a” in such deverbals. As a result, the argument that *Gefjun* is a deverbale is severely weakened, and explanation should be sought elsewhere if possible.

No data was found whatsoever to support an accusative and dative *Gefjuni* as in the modern paradigm, even with accusatives and datives from as late as the 19th century, although they are all certainly copies of early exemplars. Interestingly, 50% of twelve genitives found use “u”, but this seems to be a product of the genitive being attested mostly in texts which otherwise mostly use “u” otherwise.

5.2. Interpreting the data

As previously noted, because the Old Icelandic unstressed non-low, round, back vowel which Hreinn Benediktsson (2002 [1962], 78–79 [§2.4]) denotes [ʊ] could generally be written with either grapheme. However, the orthographic representation of the unstressed vowel in *Gefjun* with the letter “o” in 84% of attestations gathered greatly exceeds what is expected, especially in manuscripts where “u” dominates such as *Codex Wormianus* AM 242 fol, as noted with examples in the preceding section. The strength of this tendency is great enough that it forces the consideration that the vowel somehow is not the unstressed vowel [ʊ].

There are certain conditions where a syllable that does not receive primary stress may contain a vowel other than the three which are considered to make up the system of unstressed vowels (see: Hreinn Benediktsson ([1962] 2002, 74–91). For example, there can be found *o* such as *heilög* f. adj. ‘holy’,

masculine *heilagr* (but also *gǫmul* f. adj. ‘old’, masculine *gamall*), or a front vowel which is marked consistently across manuscripts, such as *manneskja* f. ‘person, human’, which is written with “e” in all attestations listed in the *ONP*. In Modern Icelandic, disyllabic neuters ending *-an* have plurals in *-ön*, such as *líkan* n. ‘model’, n.pl. *líkön*. Unfortunately these are not well-attested in the plural nominative or accusative in early manuscripts. In AM 623 4to (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1927, 39) dated to c.1325, is found “manlikon”, though better evidence would be valuable, because the manuscript uses “o” for *o*, *ǫ*, and the unstressed round vowel (see: “ollom” for *ǫllum*, adj.dat.pl. ‘all’) and a paradigm of sg. *líkan* ~ pl. **líkn* would be highly vulnerable to analogical change.

When “o” is used in *Gefjun* it is never marked in a significant way to differentiate it from a normal *o*, but there is an orthographic feature of Old Icelandic which may be the cause of this. Generally the *ǫ* in the sequence *jǫ* written “io”, with the umlauted vowel marked only rarely (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002 [1963], 160). Icelandic *jǫ* arose by *u*-breaking of **e*, but while examples are difficult or impossible to produce, it is not beyond possibility that it could also occur by umlaut of a preserved Proto-Norse **ja* which did not itself arise by *a*-breaking. The tendency for *Gefjun* to be rendered “gefion” is so strong that it is worth considering whether the form underlying this representation is *Gefjǫn*, from PGmc. **gabjanō*, with the second-syllable vowel unmarked due to orthographic convention.

A PGmc. **gabjanō* (or more realistically, PN **gabjanu*) would be the expected form of a thematicized Hoffman formation, or the “Herrschersuffix”,

made to **gabjō-*, as compounds beginning with *ō*-stems generally use **a* as the compositional vowel (Syrett 1994, 74—5 [§4.5]).

There is of course a severe difficulty in declaring *Gefjun* to have been composed with this suffix, which is that no other word with the same conditions can be produced for comparison. *Njōrun*, which is consistently written with “u” or “v” in the second syllable does not qualify as counterevidence, because it is not certain that it is the same formation and even if it is, an early form **njōrvōn* would be highly susceptible to structurally-conditioned analogical change as Hreinn Benediktsson (2002 [1962], 78 f.7) describes happening to the personal name **sigvōrðr* > *Sigurðr*. *Njōrun* is also attested neither as early nor often as *Gefjun*. However, Meid (1957, 72-126) has made a strong case the the suffix once had greater currency in the Germanic languages, and the possibility of the remodeling proposed by Syrett (1994, 203-204 [§7.6.5]) for masculine substantives also applying to feminine substantives may have obscured evidence for more such formations in North Germanic. So it is unfortunate that there is little to compare *Gefjun* to, but there are also reasons to explain why this is so; there is a high chance that there were more comparable examples at some point in the past, which are now lost.

A rather serious, but not insurmountable, weakness of this theory is that if a form of the word with *ō* were in the language of the earliest scribes, a genitive **Gefjanar* would certainly be expected. However, the genitive mostly appears in texts otherwise associated with representing the vowel “u”. Only one genitive, in *Nikolaus saga erkibiskups*, is found in a text which does not use a

“u” spelling at least once. It may be an unfortunate coincidence that of the genitive attestations found, all feature analogical change of φ to u . More thorough research of the earliest manuscripts would be elucidating.

5.3. Summary

Manuscript evidence has revealed valuable evidence about the word *Gefjun*. Two important points can be discerned. First of all, the name does not have the distribution of suffix vowels a and u that is seen in $*\text{-}\bar{o}ni\text{-}$ deverbals such as *skipan* ~ *skipun*, with only two examples of a vowel a , and they are copied from the same source. The other point is that the distribution of spellings with the suffix vowel written “o” and “u” is overwhelmingly in favor of “o” and would be difficult to explain as purely orthographic. The solution proposed was that the vowel was not u at all, but rather φ , which is usually written “o” when following a j , as in *jϕtunheimum* “*iotv̄heim̄*” (GKS 2367 4to 1v14).

In *Table 5.2* the proposed paradigm for *Gefjun* composed with the Hoffmann suffix is contrasted with the paradigm that would occur by regular development from an $*\text{-}\bar{o}ni\text{-}$ deverbale (*b*) and by comparison to attestations of $*\text{-}\bar{o}ni\text{-}$ deverbals (*c*). Note that paradigm (*b*) would probably be discernible in manuscripts, as §3.1.3 has shown that the distribution of suffix vowels a and u was not predictable by case.

		<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
sg.	<i>nom.</i>	(*)Gefjǫn	Gefjun	Gefjun ~ *Gefjan
	<i>acc.</i>	(*)Gefjǫn	Gefjun	Gefjun ~ *Gefjan
	<i>dat.</i>	(*)Gefjǫn	Gefjun	Gefjun ~ Gefjan
	<i>gen.</i>	*Gefjanar	*Gefjanar	Gefjun ~ *Gefjanar

Table 5.2: Possible declensions of the name *Gefjun* in very early Old Icelandic.

Paradigm (*a*) is the declension proposed for a Hoffmann formation, while paradigm (*b*) is the declension for a deverbal derivation (cf. §3.1.2).

It should be remembered that the **-ōni-* deverbals are themselves held to have gone through a period where their realization was **ǫ* (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 1086 [-*un*]), but that this had changed to *u* due to its unstressed position at some point before the earliest Old Icelandic manuscripts. The difference proposed here is that there may have been secondary stress, the same argument invoked by Syrett (1994, 196–204 [§7.6.4–6]) to explain why the ending **-īn-* does not typically cause umlaut. By either derivation, an original *ǫ* became *u*, the difference is a matter of timing and means. According to the proposal for a Hoffmann formation here the change still occurred, but not until after it had already been written, and perhaps with dialectal or even sociolectal differences, as “u” writings are not spread equally across texts.

Because alternation between *a* and *ǫ* is extremely common in Old Icelandic, it is true that a speaker of the language with a word *Gefjǫn* in their vocabulary would be expected to produce a genitive **Gefjanar*. However the distribution of genitive forms is very inconveniently associated with “u” spellings and does not entirely preclude its existence.

6. Reconstructing *Gefjun*

6.1. The first component: *gefj-*

6.1.1. The verb *gefa* ‘to give’ and derivatives

Though **geþan-* v. ‘to give’ was ruled out as the immediate source of the derivation *Gefjun*, the roots are strongly suggestive of a relationship, especially considering the preterite singular stem of the verb, **gab-*. The word **geþan-* will have to be investigated in order to determine what the relationship, if any, actually is.

6.1.1.1. Reflexes in Germanic

PGmc. **geþan-*, a strong verb of the fifth class meaning ‘to give’, and with the principle parts pres. **geþ-*, pret.sg. **gab-*, pret.pl. **gēþ-*, pret. part. **geþana-* can be reconstructed securely from Germanic evidence, including Goth. *giban* v. ‘to give’, OI *gefa* v. ‘id.’, OE *gifan/giefan/gyfan* v. ‘id.’, OS *geþan/gevan* v. ‘id.’, OHG *geban* v. ‘id.’ and others. A clear deverbal derivative is **gebō* f. ‘gift’, cf. Goth. *giba* f. ‘id.’, OI *gjof* f. ‘id.’, OE *gifu/gyfu/giefu* f. ‘id.’, OS. *geva/geba* f. ‘id.’, OHG *gebe* f. ‘id.’. From either the verb or the substantive comes an adjective, OI *gjofull* ‘munificent’, OE *gifol* ‘generous’, probably PGmc. **gebulaz* unless it was coined in one of the daughters and spread afterward. There is another derivative which Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 244 [*gift*]) reconstructs **gefti-*, but which would have become **gifti-* f. following the raising of **e* before a high front vowel (Ringe 2006, 220–5 [4.2.2 (i)]), cf. Goth. *fragifts* f. ‘gift, grant, betrothal’, OE *gift* f. ‘a giving; bride-price; wedding

(esp. in the plural)', OI *gift/gipt* f. 'luck; gift' with compounds relating to marriage, cf. *giftar-jǫrð* f. 'dowry farm', *giftar-mál* n. 'marriage'; German *Gift* f. 'poison'. It appears to have formed from **geþan-* using the feminine "action noun" suffix **-þi-* (Ringe 2006, 113 [3.2.4 (iv)]), so its meaning at the time of its formation seems to have been 'act of giving', arriving at the meanings in the daughter languages over time.

In West Germanic can also be found an *ō*-verb, perhaps a derivation from **gebō* f. 'gift', OE *gifian* v. 'to bestow gifts', OS *gevon/gebon/geboian* v. 'to give, make donations, bestow', OHG *gebôn* v. 'to bestow gifts'. It should be noted that the OE *gifian* does not reflect a PGmc. semivowel **j* following a **b*, as this would cause gemination before being lost, yielding an OE root ending with *-bb-* (Hogg 2011, 71–2 [§4.11-4.14]; see also §2.3.2 regarding OE *geofon*). Old English and Old Frisian restructured their *ō*-verb paradigm, replacing **-ō-* with **-ōja-* in most inflectional cases (Cowgill 1959, 1-15), so that the OE cognate to OI *laða*, Got. *laþôn*, from Proto-Germanic **laþōn-*, is *laþian*. The 3.sg.pret. *gifode* supports this development. For lexical reasons along with the root vowel *i*, OE *gifig* adj., which Bosworth (1972, 64 [gifig]) translates as 'possessing as the result of a gift', is probably denominative from the OE substantive *gifu* f. 'gift', rather than a cognate to Got. *gabeigs* adj. 'rich'.

Beyond these, it becomes more difficult to determine how other words may be related to **geþan-*. Words beginning **gēþ-*, with a long **ē*, are typically considered to descend from the same root as well. A substantive **gēþijōn-* f. seems reconstructable at least for North Germanic, cf. OI *gǣfa* f. 'good luck',

Far. *gæva* f. ‘id.’, No. *gjæve* f. ‘id.’. Kroonen (2013, 173 [*gēbōn-*]) reconstructs another related substantive **gēbōn-* for OI *gáfa* f. ‘(spiritual) gift, talent’, Far. *gáva* f. ‘id.’, MHG *gābe* f. ‘id.’ but Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 223, 292 [*gáfa*; *gæfa*]) suggests instead that MHG *gābe* f. ‘(spiritual) gift, talent’ also descends from **gēbijōn-*, and was then spread as a loanword from a West Germanic language into the North Germanic languages resulting in OI *gáfa*, etc. Alongside the substantive is an adjective **gēbiz*, cf. OI *gæfr* adj. ‘meek; pleasant’, Faroese *gævvur* adj. ‘doughty, excellent, honest’, OF *jēve*, *gēve* adj. ‘usual(?)’, MLG *geve* adj. ‘pleasant’, MHG *gebe* adj. ‘acceptable, enjoyable, convenient’. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 292 [*gæfa*]) adds Ice. *gæfð* f. ‘tranquility’, *gæftir* f.pl. ‘weather at sea; care for animals’ cf. NNo. *gjæft* f. ‘benevolence; a feeding (of animals)’. According to Kroonen (2013, 173 [*gēbi-*]), **gēbiz* adj. is a *Vrddhi*-derivation from **geban-* with the original meaning ‘having been given’.

There is also a series of words in **gab-*, resembling the preterite singular stem of the verb **geþan-*, treated in detail in §6.1.2 below. The reconstructable PGmc. and a selection of their reflexes are presented in *Table 6.1* below.

Table 6.1: Proto-Germanic words with roots *geb- and *gēb-

Reconstructable Proto-Germanic words with a root *geb-,	
*geban-, *gab-, *gēb-, *gebanaz s.v. ‘to give’	Goth. <i>giban</i> ; OI <i>gefa</i> ; OE <i>gifan/giefan/gyfan</i> ; OS <i>geban/gevan</i> ; OHG <i>geban</i>
*gebō f.	Goth. <i>giba</i> f. ‘gift’; OI <i>giþf</i> f. ‘gift’; OE <i>gifu/gyfu/giefu</i> f. ‘gift’ → * <i>gifig</i> (from * <i>gebīgaz</i> ?); OS <i>geva/geba</i> f. ‘gift’; OHG <i>gebe</i> f. ‘gift’
*gebulaz adj. ‘generous’	OI <i>giþfull</i> ‘munificent’; OE <i>gifol</i> ‘generous’
*gebtiz > *giftiz f. ‘gift’ ²⁷	Goth. <i>fragifts</i> f. ‘gift, grant, betrothal’; ; OE <i>gift</i> f. ‘a giving; bride-price; wedding’; OI <i>gift/gipt</i> f. ‘luck; gift’ (<i>giftar-mál</i> n. ‘marriage’); German <i>Gift</i> f. ‘poison’.
*gebōn- ō-verb ‘to give gifts’	OE <i>gifian</i> v. ‘to bestow gifts’; OS <i>gevon/gebon/geboian</i> v. ‘to give, make donations, bestow’; OHG <i>gebôn</i> v. ‘to bestow gifts’
*geban- n. ‘giver’	OI <i>-gjafi</i> m. ‘giver’ (in compounds); OE <i>gifa/gyfa/giefa/geofa</i> m. ‘giver’; OHG “kebo” m. ‘giver, donor’
Reconstructable Proto-Germanic words with a root *gēb-,	
*gēbijōn-	OI <i>gáfa</i> f. ‘luck’; Far. <i>gæva</i> f. ‘luck’; NNo. <i>gjæva</i> f. ‘luck’
*gēbōn-? ²⁸	OI <i>gáfa</i> f. ‘(spiritual) gift, talent’; Sw. <i>gåva</i> f. ‘gift; advantage; talent’; MLG <i>gāve</i> f. ‘gift; talent’
*gēbiz adj.	OI <i>gæfr</i> adj. ‘meek; pleasant’; Faroese <i>gævur</i> adj. ‘good, excellent, honest’; MLG <i>geve</i> adj. ‘pleasant’; MHG <i>gebe</i> adj. ‘acceptable, enjoyable, convenient’.

Also Ice. *gæftir* f.pl. ‘weather at sea; care for animals’, NNo. *gjæft* ‘benevolence; a feeding (of animals)’; OI *gæfð* f. ‘meekness’, Ice. *gæfð* f. ‘tranquility’? The latter seems to be formed with a *-þi- suffix at a relatively late time because *-þi- derivations continued to form with PGmc. *-ti- when following an obstruent. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989, 292 [*gæfð*, *†géfð*]) reconstructs PN **gābiðu* but its declension is that of an *i*-stem so that is probably wrong..

²⁷ The PIE suffix *-ti- usually becomes *-þi- by Grimm’s law but this often is not shown immediately following another obstruent, cf. **kh₂ptós* which became PGmc. **haftaz* m. ‘captive’; all labial stops become **f* before **t* (Ringe 2006, 93–102 [3.2.4 (i)]; 112–116; [3.2.4 (iv)])

²⁸ Unnecessary if MLG *gāve* reflects **gēbijōn-* and was loaned into North Germanic.

6.1.1.2. Indo-European Etymology

Establishing an Indo-European etymology for **geban-* has proven difficult. Seebold 1970, 217–9 [*geb-a-*] explains that it is usually connected to words such as OIr. *gaibid* v. ‘take’, Gaulish *gabi* v.2nd.imp. ‘take!’, Latin *habeō* v. ‘I have’ Polish *gabać* ‘to grab’, and Lithuanian *gabėnti* v. ‘to carry, transport’ (cf. also Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 263 [*gefa*]). The meaning is therefore roughly opposite its proposed cognates but this is not a major obstacle, as they all deal with transfer or stasis of location or ownership, cf. Lat. *dō* v. ‘I give’ and cognate Hitt. *dā-ⁱ/d-* v. ‘to take, wed, decide’ (de Vaan 2008, 174–5 [*dō*]). What remains are phonological problems; the Italic and Celtic forms have an **a*, the origin of which is difficult to determine. There is disagreement as to whether or not a PIE phoneme **a* is reconstructable at all; see for example Beekes (1995, 138–9 [§11.7.2.]) who argues that it was limited to “expressive words” like Goth. *atta* ‘father’ and in loanwords, though it is accepted for example by Ringe (2006, 10–1 [§2.2.3.]) who nonetheless describes it as uncommon. A sound *a* in daughter languages usually came about by an IE **e* in contact with a laryngeal **h₂*, or from any laryngeal in syllabic position, for which see Lehmann (1980, 22–35). In some languages such as PGmc., an **a* can also result from a PIE short **o* (Ringe 2006, 145–6, [§3.2.7 (i)]).

A PIE root **ghabh-* was reconstructed by Pokorny (1959, 2:407–9 [*g^hab^h-*]) without incorporation of the laryngeal theory, whence the Italic, Celtic, Baltic, and Slavic terms mentioned above, as well as Germanic words related to Goth. *gabei* f. ‘riches’ (from PGmc. **gabīn-*), OI *gáfr* ‘pleasant, mild’,

and even the Matronae names related to *Gabiae*, but the PGmc. strong verb **geban-* is not connected to the Indo-European root, but rather said to be an invention modeled on **neman-* v. ‘to take’. Rix, et al. (*LIV* 2001, 193, 195) give two different PIE roots, one **g^heb^h-*, pres. **g^héb^h-e-*, perf. **g^he-g^hób^h/g^hb^h-*, from which he derives PGmc. **geban-* and Lith. *gebėti* v. ‘to be able’, noting some complications in the Gmc. pret.pl. **gēb-* from **g^heg^hb^h-*, and the possibility of comparing Lith. *gabenti* v. ‘to carry, transport’, Pol. *gabać* v. ‘to grab’, and Ved. *gābhasti-* m. ‘hand’. On the other root he is more tentative, giving *?*g^(‘)hEb-*, aorist **g^(‘)hEb-/*g^(‘)hHb-*, pres. **g^(‘)hHb-īé-*, essive **g^(‘)hHb-h₁īé-*, and derives Gaulish *gabi* v.2nd.imp. ‘take!’ and OIr. *gaibid* v. ‘takes’ from the present and Latin *habeō* v. ‘I have’ from the essive. He says that the second of these roots is only found in Italic and Celtic languages (*LIV* 2001, 195 [*?*g^(‘)hEb-*]).

Kortlandt (1992, 104–105) tried to explain **geban-* as the reanalysis of the prefix **ga-* attached to a verbal root cognate to Hitt. *epzi* v. ‘sieves’ and Lat. *apīscor* v. ‘I reach’ and *coēpī* v. ‘I began’. This was accepted by Kroonen (2013, 172–173 [**geban-*]), but this is part of a larger argument of his about the fifth class of strong verbs that suffers from a lack of evidence and examples, as pointed out by Mailhammer (2007, 80–81) who then offered a much more satisfactory explanation rendering Kortlandt’s (1992) explanation unnecessary. See Mailhammer (2007, 67–86 [§3.1.8]).

Bjorvand and Lindeman (2007, 351–3 [gi]) propose that the root *a* of the Italic and Celtic reflexes is analogical, while deriving the Lithuanian stems

with root vowel *a* from the *o*-grade $*g^hob^h-$. While this seems possible, it would only partially explain the relationship, as the *j*-present form of the Latin and Celtic forms is lacking from the Germanic (cf. Seebold 1970, 219 [*geb-a-*]). Neither de Vaan (2008, 278 [*habeō*]) nor Matasović (2009, 149 [$*gab-yo-$]) accept $*geban-$ as cognate, respectively to Lat. *habeō* and PC $*gab-yo-$ ‘to take, hold’; de Vaan (2008, 278 [*habeō*]) reconstructs pres. $*g^h h_1 b^{(h)}-(e)i-$, aor. $*g^h h_1 b^{(h)}-eh_1-$ for the Italic and Celtic forms (2008, 278 [*habeō*]), which does not conflict very strongly with LIV’s pres. $*g^{(‘)h}Hb-i\acute{e}-$, aor. $*g^{(‘)h}eHb-/g^{(‘)h}Hb-$ (LIV 2001, 195 [$*g^{(‘)h}eHb-$]) other than the root-final unaspirated $*b$. This was probably chosen because of Umbrian *habe* ‘hat ergriffen’, *habetu* ‘soll halten’; PIE $*b^h$ usually becomes *f* in Umbrian and Oscan (Buck 1904, 79 [§124]). However, Schrijver (1991, 92[f]) explains the root-final consonants in Umbrian and Oscan reflexes result either from an athematic conjugation or analogically from *capiō* v. ‘capture, take’. De Vaan (2008, 278 [*habeō*]) maintains the possibility of a $*b$ but regards it as unlikely; Matasović (2009, 149 [$*gab-yo-$]) does not even mention the possibility.

It is with the Italic and Celtic derivations that Gmc. $*gēbi-$ adj. (OI *gǣfr* adj. ‘mild; pleasant’) and $*gēbijōn-$ (OI *gǣfa* f. ‘good luck’) should be considered to be associated, and if MHG *gābe* f. ‘(spiritual) gift, talent’ does not derive from $*gēbijon-$ and a PGmc $*gēbōn-$ must be proposed, the same applies to it as well. If Schrijver (1991, 92[f]) is correct that Lith. *gėbti* v. ‘to be able’ is also cognate, derived from the full grade $*g^h eh_1 b^h-$, this better explains the meaning of the Germanic substantives meaning ‘talent’ and even ‘good luck’ from

PGmc. **gēb-*, which would therefore have a long root vowel as a result of compensatory lengthening following the loss of the laryngeal (Ringe 2006, 70—75 [3.2.1(ii)]). On the adjective OI *gǣfr* adj. ‘meek; pleasant’, Faroese *gævur* adj. ‘doughty, excellent, honest’, MLG *geve* adj. ‘pleasant’, while clearly not a parallel formation, are semantically similar to Lat. *habilis* adj. ‘easy to handle’, derived from *habeō*; the meanings related to mildness and goodness may stem from a sense of familiarity. The *i*-stem of the adjective and *ijōn-* in the substantive are then also explained as simple reflexes of a PIE **i̯* in the reconstructions proposed by Schrijver (1991, 92[f]), de Vaan (2008, 278 [habeō]).

Although the actual reconstructions of PGmc. **geban-* on one hand, and Lat. *habeō*, OIr. *gaibid* on the other, are clearly still debateable, it is clear that a connection between them is not easily supportable. While there are derivations from **geban-* within Germanic, it is better not to count Germanic words beginning **gēb-* among them. The question then becomes whether or not PGmc. words beginning **gab-*, such as Goth. *gabei* f. ‘riches’ and Goth. *gabeigs* adj. ‘rich’, OI *gofugr* adj. ‘noble’, should be considered derived from **geban-* at all, or whether a completely different origin related to Lat. *habeō* v. ‘have’ should be sought instead, as Pokorny (1959:II, 407—9 [*g^hab^h-*]) said.

6.1.2. Old Icelandic **gefja*?

In §3.1.3, the possibility that *Gefjun* is a deverbal of the **-ōni-* type is discussed, and it is concluded that if this is the case, it is derived from a weak *ō-*

verb **gefja*, as is proposed by Much 1891, 317; North 1998, 223; and mentioned without necessarily accepting by Sturtevant 1952, 166; the latter two define it ‘to give’ without explanation. No reflex of such a verb is found in any daughter, but Much (1891, 317) draws attention to a kenning for the god Njǫrðr listed in *Skáldskaparmál* in GKS 3267 4to, [22r25], reading “gefianda guð”. It is difficult to know how this should be interpreted.

In the position of “gefianda”, the other principle manuscripts of the Prose Edda, AM 242 fol *Codex Wormianus* [48:3], DG 11 4to *Codex Upsaliensis* (ed. Heimir Pálsson 2012, 144), and Utrecht University Library MS No. 1374 *Codex Trajectinus* [22v12] all have *fégjafa*. Faulkes (ed. 1998, 18) keeps the GKS 3267 text, but emends it to “gefanda”.

If the reading is correct, ^(*)*gefjanda* is a substantive derived from the present participle of a verb **gefja*, here in the genitive (‘god of **gefjandi(s)*’ or ‘god of people who **gefja*’). The present participle does not indicate the class of the verb and so it cannot confirm **gefja* as an *ō*-verb. Since it appears in a list without any context or explanation for why it is a suitable kenning for Njǫrðr, a meaning ‘giving’ is only suggested by comparison to variants and not confirmed. Faulkes’ emendation to *gefanda guð* is most likely an accurate representation of the scribe’s intention; this is a well-attested word which makes sense as an alternative to *fégjafa guð* without change to the meaning. A scribal error is the simpler and more likely explanation than a *hapax legomenon* derived from an unattested verb, and so the reading should be rejected. Furthermore, in

§5.1 it is shown that representation of *Gefjun* is emphatically different from representation of *-ōni- deverbals.

6.1.3. Proto-Germanic *gab-

6.1.3.1. Germanic words and loanwords from Germanic

Words which descend from PGmc. forms beginning *gab- are well attested, including *gabīn- (Gothic *gabei* f. ‘riches’) and an adjective *gabīgaz (Gothic *gabeigs/gabigs* ‘rich’, OI *gōfugr* ‘noble’). The East- and West-Germanic universally refer to material wealth, Gothic *gabei* translating Greek πλούτος ‘riches, wealth’ (Lehmann 1986, 134 [*gabei*]) and *gabeigs* translating πλούσιος ‘rich’ (Lehmann 1986, 134 [*gabei*]). Old High German possesses a noun listed in *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (1986, 174 [*gebīgi*]) as *gebīgi* f.sg.dat. ‘Reichtum’, which appears to be derived from the adjective.

*gabīn-	Goth. <i>gabei</i> f. ‘riches’ → <i>gabigaba</i> adv. ‘richly’, <i>gabigjan</i> v. ‘to enrich’, <i>gabignan</i> v. ‘to be rich’
*gabīgaz adj.	Goth. <i>gabeigs/gabigs</i> adj. ‘rich’; OI <i>gōfugr</i> adj. ‘noble, worshipful’; (→ OHG <i>gebīgi</i> f.dat. ‘Reichtum’)
*gabīgōn- v.	OI <i>gōfga</i> v. ‘to worship’

Table 6.2: PGmc. words with roots *gab-, also usually derived from *geban- v. ‘to give’

According to Krahe and Meid (1969, III:188—93 [§145]), Gothic *gabigs* and its cognates and derivatives are the only examples of such a formation with the **-ga-* suffix with a secure short vowel **i* in the second syllable. The form *gabeigs* points to a long **ī*, though derivatives *gabigaba* adv. ‘richly’, *gabigjan* v. ‘to enrich’, and *gabignan* v. ‘to be rich’ all suggest a short vowel and the long variant could be secondary, formed due to the rarity of the short vowel. In **-ga-* formations, the compositional vowel can sometimes be used to determine the stem vowel of the noun from which the word derives, although many such adjectives in **-īga-* in fact derive from *a-*, *ō-*, *ja-*, and *jō-* stems (cf. OHG *muotig* ‘courageous’, OS *mōdig* ‘id.’, from *a-* stem noun **mōdaz*, OHG *muot*, OS *mōd*; Krahe and Meid (1969, III:188—93 [§145])). Old Icelandic *gǫfugr* does not necessarily contradict this, as there was considerable variation in these suffixes in Old Icelandic (cf. *blóðigr/blóðugr* adj. ‘bloody’, *nauðigr/nauðugr* ‘forced/unwilling’).

Loanwords probably reflecting the root **gab(j)-* appear in non-Germanic languages as well. Slavic **gobino* n. (Old Church Slavonic *gobině* ‘abundance’, Old Russian *gobino* ‘abundance’, Serbo-Croatian *gobino* ‘spelt’), and derived adjective **gobъnъ* ‘abundant, productive’ (RuCS, ORu. *gobъzъ*) are taken to be a loan of **gabin-* (Derksen 2007, 171 [**gobino*]). A Finnish substantive *kapiot* pl. is of special interest. It is only used in the plural, marked by the Finnish case-ending *-t*, and means ‘dowry’ or ‘trousseau’ (Kulonen et al. 1992, 305 [*kapiot*]). *Suomen Sanojen Alkuperä Etymologinen Sanakirja* (1992, 305 [*kapiot*]) derives it from Germanic **gābia-* < **gēbia-*, which should be read as a Proto-Germanic

**gēbija-*, reflected in OI *gǣfr* adj. ‘meek, quiet; pleasant’. The entry cites Posti 1981 in support of this derivation, as well as Lindström 1859 deriving from **gēbōn-*, a possible earlier form of OI *gáfa* ‘(spiritual) gift, talent’.

Kylstra et al. (1991, 40–41 [*kapiot*]) lists no fewer than six suggested Germanic origins for the Finnish word, and in fact *Gefjun* is among them although Karsten, the first to propose this theory, later revised it to **gabjōn-*, from which he derives Swedish dialectal *gävo* ‘Gabe’. A reconstruction **Gabjōnō* is given for *Gefjun* without further comment, and although that is certainly possible it is not very helpful without explanation. More interesting is the suggestion that *kapiot* derives from a Proto-Germanic **gabjō*, from which Kylstra et al. (1991, 40–41 [*kapiot*]) derives dialectal Swedish *gef* ‘Glück, Geschick’. Unfortunately, in preparation for the present work, it was not possible to confirm the existence of a Sw. *gef* nor even determine the dialect from which it is supposed to have come, in order to evaluate the likelihood of it descending from a PGmc **gabjō*. Kylstra et al. (1991, 40–41 [*kapiot*]) does not specify the source of the word in the entry. Reference material conferred include *Ordbok över svenska språket* (1898—), *Svenskt dialektlexikon: ordbok öfver svenska allmogespråket* (Rietz, 1862—1867), *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok* (ed. Hellquist 1922), and some dictionaries particular to certain dialects such as *Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna* (Levander and Björklund, 1961—), *Ordbok över lulemålet* (Nyström, 1993), *Ordbok över Njurundamålet* (Hellbom 1980), *Ordbok över Multråmålet* (Nordlander 1933), and *Ordbok över de östsvenska dialekterna* (Vendell 1904—1907), but *gef* was not found.

It seems unsafe to accept that this form is not an orthographic variant of *gäv* c. ‘gift’. The Swedish adjective *gäv* ‘excellent; pleasant’ is probably cognate to Old Icelandic *gæfr* adj. ‘meek, quiet; pleasant’, and although a substantive cognate to OI *gæfa* would be expected to retain the *-a* ending in Swedish (cf. *gåva* c. ‘gift, talent’, cognate to OI *gáfa* ‘id.’), a hypothetical substantive **gäv* c. meaning ‘Glück, Geschick’ could be a secondary derivation from the adjective, possibly with influence from a substantive cognate to OI *gæfa*. If it does exist, and if the reconstruction to **gabjō* is correct, it would prove invaluable to the current study of the name *Geffun*, but unfortunately the inability to determine its existence with reasonable certainty in time for this paper means that it must remain hypothetical until further research can be done.

Nonetheless, of the suggested origins of *kapiot* pl. ‘dowry, treussaeu’, the strongest case can be made for a Germanic **gabjō-* to account for the form the Finnish takes. Though a PGmc. **gabjō* meaning ‘luck’ does not have enough evidence to accept, much of the evidence adduced throughout previous chapters suggest that a word **gabjō-* did exist, although its meaning has not been elucidated.

Like Germanic roots in **gēb-*, it is more fitting to identify **gab(j)-* with Lat. *habēō* v. ‘have’, OIr. *gaibid* v. ‘take’, from a present stem **g^hh₁b^h-(e)i-*. The source of the vowel **a* would then be the laryngeal rather than an *o*-grade, which if Schrijver (1991, 92[f]) is correct in accepting Lith. *gėbti* v. ‘to be able’ as a cognate, would be **g^hoh₁b^h-* and result in a Germanic **gōb-*, although this is not necessary. Though it is not problematic to associate a word meaning

‘possessions’ with a verb meaning ‘give’, it is certainly even less problematic to associate it with a word meaning ‘have’. As the PIE etymology of these words is still disputed it may well be that **geban-* and *habeō* are indeed built on the same root, even if it seems unlikely, but in that case **gabj-* was derived so long ago that it is not bound to being interpreted as related to ‘give’.

6.1.3.2. *The meaning of *gabīn, *gabīgaz*

Having established the distribution of the root **gab(j)-* throughout Germanic languages and in loanwords, a closer lexical analysis of attested reflexes is worthwhile. The meaning of **gabīn-* seems to have been not merely possessions, but also to imply a greater amount than is necessary or expected. In the Gothic Bible it is contrasted with spiritual attainment, for example in Luke 8:14 (KJV): “And that which fell among thorns are they, which, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches (*gabei*) and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection.” Considering the meaning of the Slavic loanwords, it is unlikely to have specifically meant ‘wealth’ in terms of actual capital at the time of the loans since it could apparently manifest as grain or animals as well as money. Presumably ownership of it, or at least in abundance, was exclusive to distinguished or fortunate people, and acquired connotations of nobility, leading to Old Icelandic *gofugr* adj. ‘noble, worshipful’. There is possibly an example of Gothic *gabei* being used in a positive religious sense, in Romans 11:15, translating *καταλλαγή* f. ‘reconciliation’: “For if the casting away of them be the

reconciling (*gabeī*) of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?” Streitberg (1910, 41 [*gabeī*]) explains this as an error for *gafriþōns* f. ‘reconciliation’ which is likely correct.

Old Icelandic *gofga* has strong religious connotations from an early time. Its first attestation comes from *Elucidarius*, dated 1150–1200 (author’s normalization, from AM 674 a 4to [2r5], ed. Jensen and Stefán Karlsson 1983, 7): *Discipulus: Svá es sagt at manngi veit hvat goð es en oss sýnisk ómakligt at vita eigi hvat vér gofgum* (‘Disciple: It is said that no man knows what God is, but it seems to us unfair to know not what we worship’). In the Icelandic Homily Book Holm perg 15 4to, dated to c. 1200, it translates Lat. *adōrāre* (ed. van Weenen 1993 [27v25]) *honōrificāre* ([40r2]), *honōrāre* ([89r24]), *venerāre* ([89v21]). It can refer to the worship of either the Christian God or to heathen deities (Wolf ed. 2003). This must be secondary, however. Verbs ending *-ga* are related to the adjective suffix *-igr/-ugr*, and mean to make the object of the verb into something to which the adjective applies; for example to *blóðga* v. ‘to bloody (make bleed, cover with blood)’ something makes it *blóðugr* adj. ‘bloody (blood-covered) (Alexander Jóhannesson 1927, 30 [*-ga*]). Alongside the meaning ‘to honor; to worship’, *gofga* also means ‘to endow’, used often in the preterite participle such as *lādggofgum* ‘land-endowed’ in *Erfikvæði um Magnús berfætt* by Gísl Illugason (ed. Gade 2009, 420 [strophe 6]) or *tíri gofgaðr* ‘endowed with glory’ in *Noregs konungatal* (ed. Gade 2009, 776 [strophe 23]). It seems likely that the lexical development included a stage where it meant only ‘to endow’, subsequently developing to ‘to worship by means of offerings’, with

the offering eventually becoming a nondistinctive part of the word such that it was seen as appropriate for use in a Christian context (unlike, for example *blóta*, which is used only for heathen worship).

6.1.3.3. Proto-Germanic **gabī* ~ **gabjō-*

The feminine *īn*-stems and adjective forming suffix **-Vga-* were derivational suffixes in Proto-Germanic forming to substantives and adjectives. The *īn*-stem class is widely considered to have formed by an **-n* extension to the inherited “*devī*-type” ending, PGmc with **-ī* in the nominative singular and **(i)jō-* in the other cases, from PIE **-ih₂* ~ **(e)ieh₂-* (Krahe/Meid 1969, III:102 [§93]; Johnsen 2005, 117–9 [2.11.4]). The ending then became productive itself, so that new *īn*-stems could be formed directly from roots rather than exclusively from *ī/jō*-stems (Krahe/Meid 1969, III:102 [§93]). Johnsen (2005, 117–119 [2.11.4]) argued that **gabīn* was extended from an earlier *ī/jō*-stem **gabī*, itself formed in Proto-Indo-European from the *o*-grade of the verbal root **g^heb^h-*, that is, from the *ō*-grade **g^hob^h-* was formed **g^hob^h-ih₂*. Johnsen takes for granted that **geban-* is cognate to Latin *habeō* which is shown above not to be secure, but disregarding the cognate status would not greatly impact his argument, which requires that **gabīn-* ultimately originate in a verbal derivation, but it is not necessary that it come from the root of **geban-* in particular.

It is useful to briefly summarize the *ī/jō*-stem class and Johnsen’s (2005) findings. The class is formed with an ending going back to an ablauting Indo-

European ending, with $*-ih_2$ in the strong cases, alternating with the ending $*-\tilde{i}eh_2$ in the weak cases (the “ $dēvī$ -class”; cf. Meier-Brügger 2003 285—7 [W204]). These endings became PGmc. $*-\bar{i}$ (in the nominative singular only) and $*-j\bar{o}$ (in all other cases) respectively, and because of Sievers’ Law the latter becomes $*-ij\bar{o}$ after roots with heavy syllables, for example $*bandī \sim *bandijo-$ f. ‘fetter’, cf. Goth. *bandi*, acc. *bandja* (Johnsen 2005, 33—58 [§2.2]). Meanwhile, the PIE $\tilde{i}eh_2$ -stems with a non-ablauting ending (which Johnsen calls the “ $vidyā$ -type) also have a Germanic ending $*-ij\bar{o}-$ after a heavy syllable, and these forms with $*-ij\bar{o}-$ merge with the $dēvī$ -type in Germanic with an ending $*-\bar{i}$ in the nominative (Johnsen 2005, 3—7 [§1.1], 10—30 [§1.11], 33 [§2.1], 122—33). Because of this, it was long regarded that the ending $*-\bar{i}$ was exclusive to roots with heavy syllables, but Johnsen has made a convincing argument that this was not truly the case using demonstrations too numerous to reiterate here, but including for example $*mawī$ f. ‘girl’ (cf. Goth. *mawi* f. ‘girl’, OI *már* f. ‘maiden’) and $*þiwī$ (Goth. *þiwi* f. ‘(female) servant’, OI *þír* f. ‘id.’; Johnsen 2005, 110—24 [§2.11]).

In the discussion of the *Matronae Gabiae* in §4.2.2.1 it was explained that both Gutenbrunner (1936, 43—4, 90) and Neumann ([1998] 2008, 365—6 [Garmangabis]) considered the inscriptions featuring Romanized *Gabi-* to show evidence of an underlying Germanic $\bar{i}/j\bar{o}$ -stem, $*gabī(z)$, and while Johnsen’s (2005, 117—9 [§2.11.4]) reconstruction is hardly the agentive ‘giver’ that they proposed, it is still valuable in that the same word was proposed by entirely different means. Sturtevant (1952, 166—7) proposed that an earlier form

equivalent to a hypothetical OI **Gef*, gen. **Gefjar*, preceded the name *Gefjun* and he may not have been far off, but rather than a *jō*-stem **gabjō* there is greater evidence for an *ī/jō*-stem **gabī* ~ **gabjō*-. It is likely, but not certain, that this word derives from a PIE **g^hh₁b^(h)-(e)i-* meaning something in the range of ‘to have’. It is probably related to OI *gæfa* f. ‘good luck’ and MHG *gābe* f. ‘(spiritual) gift, talent’, coming from different ablaut grades of the same stem. Furthermore, even if the word does not derive from the same PIE origin as Latin *habeō*, Johnsen (2005, 117–9 [§2.11.4]) made it perfectly clear that the word is old enough that its meaning, the meaning of **geban-*, or both, could have changed drastically between when the word was first formed and the earliest *Gabiae* inscription.

Though a *jō*-stem **gabjō* meaning ‘good luck’, proposed by Kylstra et al. (1991, 40–1 [*kapiot*]) as the origin of Finn. *kapiot* pl. ‘dowry, treussaeu’ has not been supported here, **gabī* seems the most likely source of the Finnish word. It is only used in the plural so it is unsurprising that it does not show signs of a nominative singular **gabī*; the Finnish declension cannot show a distinction between **gabī* and **gabjō*. Therefore there may also have been contexts wherein **gabī* related specifically to marriage, although it is also possible that this developed specifically within Finnish after the loan had already taken place.

6.2. The ending *-un* “on”

The information analyzed and presented thus far is finally enough to attempt a reconstruction of *Gefjun*. The case for a deverbal from an unattested *ō*-stem verb **gabjōn-* is not especially strong. It rests on the dubious word

written “gefianda” the *Codex Regius* which is better explained as a mistake than an agentive noun derived from an unattested verb (§6.1.2). A deverbal derivation parallel to *skipan/skipun* from *skipa* leaves not only the verb itself to be explained, but also the disproportionate prevalence of the suffix vowel written “o” in manuscripts, as more examples with a suffix vowel “a” would be expected; indeed that would be expected to dominate.

In §5.2 it was concluded that a suffix descending from the thematicized Hoffmann suffix attached to a stem **gabjō-* best accounted for the prevalence of “o” as the suffix vowel in *Gefjun*. It was proposed that a spelling “gefion” revealed an underlying *Gefjon* with the suffix vowel not usually appearing in unstressed syllables, perhaps due to secondary stress, and not differentiated from *o* because it occurs in the sequence *jō*, which is most often written “io” (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002 [1963], 160). Syrett (1994, 203–4 [§7.6.5]) argued for secondary stress as a factor in the lack of umlaut caused by the suffix **-īna-*. It should also be noted that the secondary stress is the most speculative part of the theory currently being presented on the formation of the name *Gefjun*, and the rest of the theory does not entirely rely on it; without the secondary stress the suffix vowel “o” is no less confusing than with the deverbal derivation, and still has the benefit of much stronger evidence for the word from which it probably derives.

Support for a medial vowel **a* following *ī/jō-*stems compounds or derivations is difficult to demonstrate explicitly, but seems likely. There are no examples in the early runic corpus, and there are very few *ī/jō-*stems with short

root syllables at all, but the word *mǣr*, acc. *mei* f. ‘girl, maiden’ (Gothic *mawi*, acc. *mauja* f. ‘girl’), from PGmc. **mawī* ~ **maujō-* (Johnsen 2005, 113—4 [§2.11.2]) is well-attested with many compounds, such as *meibarn* n. ‘girl’ and *meidómr* m. ‘virginity, maidenhood’, which do not appear to be composed any differently from compounds like *kynborinn* adj. ‘high-born’ from the *ja*-stem *kyn* n. ‘kindred; kind, sort’. The umlaut in words like *meibarn* seem to suggest that the **j* was still present in the original compound, pointing to a PN **mauja-*, and although analogy from the paradigm of *mǣr* is not impossible, the most likely conclusion is that PN *ī/jō*-stems did compound with **-ja-*.

The formation of the word which would become *Gefjun* cannot be dated precisely, but the proposed development of the name including a very hypothetical Proto-Germanic form is as follows:

1. **gabī* ~ **gabjō-* + **-nō* Suffix, forming **gabjanō*
‘ruling over/pertaining to **gabī*’
2. **gabjanō* > **gabjanu* (word final *ō* > *u*)
3. **gabjanu* > **gēbjanu* (*i*-umlaut)
4. **gēbjanu* > **[gæβ,jɔnu]* > **gēbjɔn*
(*u*-umlaut and phonemicization by syncope of word-final *u*)
5. **gēbjɔn* > ^(*)*Gefjɔn* (*e*, *ē* > *e*; *β* > *f*; exactly where in this chronology either of these changes happened is not certain, nor consequential)
6. ^(*)*Gefjɔn* → *Gefjun* (analogical removal of unstressed *ɔ*,
either structurally-conditioned or on the basis of **-ōni-* deverbals)

7. Conclusion

Throughout the present work, attention has been brought to the fact that the name *Gefjun* has not been adequately explained by earlier scholarship, and it has been examined for data to try to create a more evidence-based estimation of the name's significance. The generally accepted definition 'the giving one' can be safely rejected, and a new etymology has been proposed. In spite of similarity to a class of words likewise ending *-un*, deverbals from *ō*-verbs, the representation of the word *Gefjun* in medieval manuscripts does not accord with what would be expected from one, and there is only very weak evidence that a verb **gefja* from which it could have come ever existed, and so a deverbal derivation is rejected.

The thematicized Hoffmann suffix, the PGmc. reflex of which was probably **-nō* for feminine names, accords better with the evidence. The base word from which it derives does not have an Old Icelandic reflex, but seems to be attested in the form of devotional inscription in Roman-occupied Germania. The uniqueness of the name *Gefjun*, comparable only to *Nqrun* and possibly **Ingun*, is explainable as a result of remodeling of these formations, replacing earlier endings with **-īnō*; the only difference with *Gefjun* is that it was not remodeled, and like *þjóðann* m. 'sovereign' and *Herjann* m. 'a name of Óðinn' it continues its original suffix vowel.

It is not altogether clear exactly what the name should be considered to mean any more specifically than ‘pertaining to, or ruling over, **gabī*’, nor its relationship to the goddess name *Gefn*.

7.1. Gefjun and Gefn

It is still difficult to determine the relationship between the words *Gefjun* and *Gefn*. If Syrett (1994, 203–4 [§7.6.5]) is right that a remodeling occurred that changed, for example, **wōdanaz* to **wōdīnaz*, *Gefjun* and *Gefn* could actually derive respectively from the pre- and post-remodeled form of the same name: **gabjanō* and **gabīnō*. It is true that feminines with a second syllable *-ī- do not usually show *i*-umlaut in OI, such as *vōrn* f. ‘defense’ from **warīni*-, but *i*-umlaut is shown in East Norse forms, cf. Old Swedish and Old Danish *værn* f. ‘defense’ (see §3.1.2). It is worth considering whether *Gefn* from **gabīnō*, in this scenerio the form which was remodelled, was the East Norse term used by pre-Christian people in Denmark where *Gefjun*’s primary myth places her and where there are possible theophoric place-names (see §2.3.1), and whether the form *Gefjun* is an archaism that was saved from obscurity by an early Norwegian poet, Bragi Boddason.

While this is possible, other explanations remain. It cannot be ruled out entirely that the names are completely different, as *Gefn* actually could be related to the verb *gefa* v. ‘to give’. As shown in §3.1.1, feminine *-ni- deverbals from strong verbs usually place the suffix directly on the root, and umlaut does usually occur in certain cases, with umlauted or non-umlauted root

vowels subsequently being generalized throughout the paradigm, often resulting in paradigmatic split. *Gefjun* is probably not a deverbal, but *Gefn* still could be. Still, the possibility of an etymological relationship between *Gefn* and the single Latin inscription to *Gabinis* (dat.; AE 1981, 678) is strong.

Much of the discussion of the names *Gefjun* and *Gefn* has revolved around whether or not they are “the same”, with authors occasionally declaring *Gefjun* to be identical with, or merely a regional variant of, the goddess Freyja (Olrik 1910, Näsström 1995, 100–1). One objection that should be raised is that even if the two names share a common origin, declaring them to be the “same” goddess for that reason is a projection of the author’s linguistic bias onto an entire society over hundreds of years, a society which was not homogenous in its belief (Brink 2007). A more productive question might be “Did Bragi Boddason consider *Gefjun* and Freyja to be the same?” The answer might still be “yes”, but hopefully for better reasons than a common origin of two words.

Beck (2009, 66 f.333) dates the inscription dedicated to *Gabinis* (dat.) to the late 2nd or early 3rd century. If the name is cognate to *Gefn*, it means that the name is of significant age for the common origin of *Gefn* and *Gefjun* to have time to be obscured to pre-Christian Scandinavians before their earliest attestations in Old Icelandic. If, more likely, *Gabinis* is *not* in continuity with *Gefn* (see §4.2.2.1), it is a demonstration that a word beginning **gabj-* related to meaningful social or religious concepts had currency as a name and in formation of derived names, and supports the idea of multiple independent

instances of it. To establish that *Gefjun* and *Gefn* are the “same” goddess (or different, for that matter) requires more evidence than linguistics, and even if it did not the linguistic evidence is not adequate at this time to provide an answer.

7.2. The Meaning of *Gefjun*

In section 6.2 it is argued that *Gefjun* is composed of a suffix **-nō-*, the Germanic successor to the thematized Hoffmann “suffix” **-h₃nh₂-o-* which since Meid (1957) has been called the “Herrschersuffix” in this context, attached to a Germanic word **gabī ~ *gabjō-*. What exactly a PGmc **gabjanō* or PN **gabju* would be perceived as meaning to speakers of the language is still debateable. If the name of the *Matronis Gabiabus* (dat.) represents a Germanic *ō*-stem with a Latin plural ending, and if the *Gabiae* really are multiple beings rather than this plurality being a mode of expression that was introduced to Germanic peoples along with the idea of devotional epigraphy, then one possibility is that *Gefjun* is some kind of leader or archetypical member of the *Gabiae*, following the logic by which Meid (1957, 100—1; 120) described *Populōna* as the representative of the *populus* m. ‘people, nation’, *Hludana* as the leader of the *Holden* (some sort of spirit, perhaps related to Scandinavian *huldrer* or the *seiðkona* *Hulð* in *Ynglinga saga* chapter 13, (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1941, 29), and *þjóðann* m. ‘sovereign’ as a representative member of the *þjóð* f. ‘nation’ (rather the primary meaning being rulership of the *þjóð* which he regards as secondary; Meid 1957, 77).

Alternatively, Meid (1957, 86—9) also also draws attention to pairs of names like *Óðr* : *Óðinn* and *Ullr* : *Ullinn*, and suggests a development within the

spiritual system wherein at an early stage an object or concept was worshiped as the thing in itself, but later the suffix was used to distinguish the god with power or representation of the concept. Though he discusses this in particular with regard to formations featuring a PIE suffix **-tu-* (Germanic **wōþuz*, **wulþuz*; unattested Latin **fortus*, **neptus* which are suggested by *Fortūna*, *Neptūnus*), the concept is perhaps still applicable. A concept of **gabī* may have existed, with a goddess or goddesses relating to it developing at different times in different permutations.

Some tentative suggestions seem advisable. Gefjun is seen in the mythology claiming land, and perhaps even considered to be nearby when the young lady swears by her in *Vǫlsa þátttr*. Perhaps she plays a role in the regulation of the luck of the household, or is representative of some kind of household spirit, of even *mǫrnir* — whatever they are. In *Lokasenna* Óðinn warns that it is inadvisable to fall out of her favor. In this might be seen the common thread uniting Gothic words *gabei* f. ‘riches’ and *gabeigs* adj. ‘rich’ with Old Icelandic terms referring to nobility and worship, *gǫfugr* adj. ‘noble’ and *gǫfga* v. ‘to worship, honor’. If pre-Christian pagans believed that maintaining the good graces of certain beings, perhaps including Gefjun, would cause them to be successful in their endeavors, the Icelandic and Gothic terms might be described respectively as the “cause” (maintenance of good relations with unseen beings) and “effect” (material success) within the same religious system. This is extremely tentative, and as was stated early in this paper, the

study of Gefjun as a mythological figure is a topic worthy of pursuit in its own right, and not the goal of the current volume.

Too much of the study of Gefjun in mythology has been burdened by a false etymology linking her to the ocean and to ‘giving’, and attempting to explain her mythological characteristics as relating to the fertility of the land. In fact, the issue is much more complicated. Though relatable to abundance and material well-being it does not seem that Gefjun can be shown being the actual producer herself; when she plows Sjøælland she behaves like a person, and the episode may have more to do with land ownership than farming. Hopefully the etymology proposed here will help to break down obstacles to a better understanding of pre-Christian Nordic religion. There is much more to be said about Gefjun, and hopefully this paper is one contribution to a more comprehensive reanalysis.

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Appendix A: Attestations of *Gefjun*

In the following table, the attestations of the name *Gefjun* that were gathered for analysis in chapter 5 are presented along with the manuscript of their origin, the location in the manuscript if possible, otherwise the page and line number of the edition that was used instead. The text in which it appears is listed in abbreviated form in the interest of formatting. The abbreviations represent:

<i>Agn</i> s	Agnesar saga	<i>Kat</i>	Katarine saga
<i>Bret</i>	Breta sögur	<i>Klem</i>	Klements saga
<i>Dpl</i>	Droplaugarsona saga	<i>Loka</i>	Lokasenna
<i>FSK</i>	Fídesar saga, Spesar ok Karítasar	<i>Nik</i>	Nikolaus saga erkibyskups
<i>Gylf</i>	Gylfaginning	<i>Páls</i>	Páls saga postula
<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Bragi Boddason (Gylfaginning)	<i>Skm</i>	Skáldskaparmál
<i>Hkr</i>	Heimskringla	<i>Stjórn</i>	Stjórn
<i>Hkr:Bragi</i>	Bragi Boddason (Heimskringla)	<i>Troj</i>	Trojumanna saga
<i>Hl</i>	Haustlǫng	<i>Vǫlsa</i>	Vǫlsa þátrr
<i>Jón</i>	Jóns saga postula	<i>Þul</i>	Þulur verses (or non-poetic lists of names)

Manuscript	Location	Dating	Text	Attestation	Case
AM 645 4to (part 1)	ed. Larsson 1885, 67:6	1220	<i>Klem</i>	gefion	acc
AM 645 4to (part 2)	ed. Unger 1874, 223:16	1225-1250	<i>Páls</i>	Gefionar	gen
AM 645 4to (part 2)	ed. Unger 1874, 224:2	1225-1250	<i>Páls</i>	Gefion	nom
GKS 2365 4to	15v20-21	1270	<i>Loka</i>	gef ion	acc
GKS 2365 4to	15v18	1270	<i>Loka</i>	gefion	nom
AM 655 XVI 4to	ed. Unger 1874, 223:23 (var.)	1250-1300	<i>Páls</i>	Gefionar	gen
AM 652 4to	ed. Unger 1874, 451:37	1250-1300	<i>Jón</i>	Gefiunar	gen

AM 544 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1892, 241:8	1302-1310	<i>Bret</i>	Gefionar	gen
AM 544 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1892, 241:2	1302-1310	<i>Bret</i>	Giefivnar	gen
AM 544 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1892, 241:8	1302-1310	<i>Bret</i>	Gefion	dat
AM 544 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1892, 241:15	1302-1310	<i>Bret</i>	Gefivn	acc
AM 544 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1892, 199:17	1302-1310	<i>Troj</i>	Gefion	dat
AM 748 I b 4to	21r15	1300-1325	<i>Þul</i>	gefiun	nom
AM 748 I b 4to	18r20	1300-1325	<i>Þul</i>	gæfivn	nom
AM 45 fol	2ra7	1300-1325	<i>Hkr</i>	gefion	acc
AM 45 fol	2ra14	1300-1325	<i>Hkr:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 656 I 4to	ed. Unger 1874, 451:37	1300-1325	<i>Jón</i>	Gefiunar	gen
AM 656 I 4to	ed. Unger 1874, 451:35	1300-1325	<i>Jón</i>	Gefiunar	gen
AM 623 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1927, 20:21	1325	<i>Jón</i>	gefionar	gen
AM 623 4to	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1927, 20:23	1325	<i>Jón</i>	Gefiunar	gen
GKS 2367 4to	1v14	1300-1350	<i>Gylf</i>	gefiū	nom
GKS 2367 4to	8v10	1300-1350	<i>Gylf</i>	gefiun	nom
GKS 2367 4to	1v20	1300-1350	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Gefiun	nom
GKS 2367 4to	42v 3	1300-1350	<i>Þul</i>	gefion	nom
GKS 2367 4to	18r10	1300-1350	<i>Skm</i>	gefiun	nom
GKS 2367 4to	27r29-30	1300-1350	<i>Skm</i>	gef iun	nom
GKS 2367 4to	24r12	1300-1350	<i>Skm:Hl</i>	ǽlgefiō	nom
AM 242 fol	22:12	1350	<i>Gylf</i>	gefion	nom
AM 242 fol	8:23	1350	<i>Gylf</i>	gefion	nom
AM 242 fol	8:26	1350	<i>Gylf</i>	gefion	nom
AM 242 fol	8:29	1350	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 242 fol	40:8	1350	<i>Skm</i>	gefion	nom
AM 242 fol	59:1	1350	<i>Skm</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 242 fol	51:24	1350	<i>Skm:Hl</i>	ǽlgefion	nom
AM 132 fol	147v27	1330-1370	<i>Dpl</i>	gefion	acc
AM 233 a fol	ed. Unger 1877, 417: 15	1350-1375	<i>Kat</i>	Gefion	dat

AM 226 fol	ed. Unger 1862, 90:18	1360-1370	<i>Stjórn</i>	Gefion	acc
GKS 1005 fol	ed. Finnur Jóns. 1930, 122ra:44	1387-1395	<i>Vqlsa</i>	gefion	acc
AM 235 fol	38r	1400	<i>FSK</i>	gefion	acc
AM 748 II 4to	11v14	1390-1410	<i>Þul</i>	gefion	nom
AM 757 a 4to	8v 6	1390-1410	<i>Þul</i>	gefion	nom
AM 235 fol	37v	1400	<i>FSK</i>	gefion	acc
AM 235 fol	37r	1400	<i>FSK</i>	gofion	acc
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 373:18	1425-1445	<i>FSK</i>	Gefion	acc
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 370:20	1425-1445	<i>FSK</i>	Gefion	acc
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 372:1	1425-1445	<i>FSK</i>	Gefion	dat
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 16:34	1425-1445	<i>Agns</i>	Gefion	acc
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 17:17	1425-1445	<i>Agns</i>	Gefion	acc
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 30:11	1425-1445	<i>Nik</i>	Gefionar	gen
Holm perg 2 fol	ed. Unger 1877, 30:28	1425-1445	<i>Nik</i>	Gefion	nom
T: MS No. 1374	2r21	1595	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefiō	nom
T: MS No. 1374	2r24	1595	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefiō	nom
T: MS No. 1374	2r27	1595	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Gefiō	nom
T: MS No. 1374	44r23	1595	<i>Þul</i>	gefion	nom
T: MS No. 1374	24v18	1595	<i>Skm:Hl</i>	aulgefion	nom
AM 758 4to	1r16	1609	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefjon	nom
AM 758 4to	10r16	1609	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefjon	nom
AM 758 4to	1r20	1609	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefjûn	nom
AM 742 4to	2v11	1611-1650	<i>Þul</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 292 4to	55r16	1600-1699	<i>Vqlsa</i>	Gefion	acc
AM 751 4to	27v	1611-1700	<i>Þul</i>	gefjún	nom
AM 751 4to	5r22	1611-1700	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 751 4to	5r26	1611-1700	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 751 4to	14r29	1611-1700	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 751 4to	5v6	1611-1700	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 741 4to	38v12	1639-1672	<i>Þul</i>	Gefion	nom

AM 741 4to	4v17	1639-1672	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefon	nom
AM 741 4to	4v21	1639-1672	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefon	nom
AM 741 4to	14v11	1639-1672	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefon	nom
AM 741 4to	4v24	1639-1672	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Giefon	nom
AM 750 4to	38vc4-5	1650-1699	<i>Þul</i>	gi efiún	nom
AM 750 4to	5r1-2	1650-1699	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefion/ gief iñ	nom
AM 750 4to	5r6	1650-1699	<i>Gylf</i>	giefion	nom
AM 750 4to	14v25	1650-1699	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
Holm papp 18 fol	2v (margin)	1650-1700	<i>Hkr</i>	Gefian	dat
Holm papp 18 fol	3r3	1650-1700	<i>Hkr</i>	Gefion	acc
Holm papp 18 fol	3r9	1650-1700	<i>Hkr:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 35 fol	9v5	1675-1700	<i>Hkr</i>	Gefian	dat
AM 35 fol	9v5	1675-1700	<i>Hkr</i>	Gefion (correction)	dat
AM 35 fol	10r4	1675-1700	<i>Hkr</i>	Gefion	acc
AM 35 fol	10r19	1675-1700	<i>Hkr:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
Thott 1768 4to	236r16	1675-1700	<i>Vqlsa</i>	Gefion	acc
AM 164 k fol	20v17	1690-1697	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 761 a 4to	50r2	1690-1700	<i>Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 744 4to	62v7	1700-1725	<i>Þul</i>	gefíon	nom
AM 761 b 4to	524v4	1700-1725	<i>Vqlsa</i>	gefion	acc
LBS 1442 4to	270v24	1720-1740	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 38 fol	4v18	1675-1800	<i>Hkr</i>	Gefiun	nom
AM 38 fol	4v29	1675-1800	<i>Hkr:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
AM 746 4to	107v	1725-1750	<i>Þul</i>	gefiun	nom
Lbs 636 4to	86r12	1750-1760	<i>Loka</i>	Gefion	acc
Lbs 636 4to	86r10	1750-1760	<i>Loka</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 139 4to	68r8	1760	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
NKS 1867 4to	148r10	1760	<i>Þul</i>	Giefion	nom
NKS 1867 4to	117v11	1760	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefiön	nom
NKS 1867 4to	117v15	1760	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
NKS 1867 4to	127v3	1760	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
NKS 1867 4to	117v:19	1760	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Gefion	nom
NKS 1867 4to	26v11	1760	<i>Loka</i>	Gefiön	acc
NKS 1867 4to	26v9	1760	<i>Loka</i>	Gefion	nom
NKS 1867 4to	141r2	1760	<i>Skm</i>	Gefiön	nom
LBS 1321 8vo	100v2	1750-1799	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
Lbs 756	43rc24	1777	<i>Þul</i>	Geffion	nom

Lbs 756	8r2	1777	<i>Gylf</i>	Gefion	nom
Lbs 756	18r8	1777	<i>Gylf</i>	Geffion	nom
JS 160 fol	163r23	1772-1799	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
ÍB 184 4to	51v20	1775-1799	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 1339 4to	161v20	1790	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
ÍBR 25 8vo	78r12	1792	<i>Þul</i>	Gefjön	nom
ÍBR 25 8vo	24r15-16	1792	<i>Gylf</i>	Gief jön	nom
ÍBR 25 8vo	24r22	1792	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefjon	nom
ÍBR 25 8vo	37v22	1792	<i>Gylf</i>	Giefon	nom
ÍBR 25 8vo	24v3	1792	<i>Gylf:Bragi</i>	Gefjon	nom
LBS 1001 4to	6260r10	1800	<i>Dpl</i>	Gevion	nom
LBS 327 fol	41r4-5	1800	<i>Dpl</i>	G[.] on	nom
LBS 2462 4to	47v9	1775-1825	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 3713 4to	107r6	1776-1825	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 1846 4to	134v8	1798-1806	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
JS 450 4to	34r12	1807	<i>Dpl</i>	Gievion	nom
JS 630 4to	78v4	1808	<i>Dpl</i>	Gevion	nom
LBS 718 4to	49v29	1810	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
ÍBR 8 4to	108v10	1801-1820	<i>Vqlsa</i>	Gefion	acc
LBS 1489 4to	132v18	1810-1814	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 356 4to	92r5	1810-1815	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 1634 4to	47v9	1815	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
ÍBR 6 4to	31r16	1820	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 997 4to	67v19	1820	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefiön	nom
LBS 997 4to	67v19	1820	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefiön	nom
AM 932 4to	177v19	1821	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 221 fol	174r34	1819-1832	<i>Dpl</i>	giefion	nom
LBS 2116 4to	19r15	1825-1827	<i>Dpl</i>	Geveon	nom
JS 435 4to	135v21	1805-1850	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
ÍB 418 4to	77v6	1825-1830	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefjon	nom
ÍBR 38 8vo	81r2	1828-1831	<i>Gylf</i>	giefion	nom
ÍBR 38 8vo	104v9	1828-1831	<i>Hkr</i>	Giefion	acc
ÍBR 38 8vo	95r13	1828-1831	<i>Skm</i>	giefion	nom
JS 19 fol	31v13	1840	<i>Bret</i>	Ge/fionar	gen
JS 19 fol	31v8	1840	<i>Bret</i>	Giefivnar	gen
JS 19 fol	31v12	1840	<i>Bret</i>	Gefon	dat
JS 19 fol	31v19	1840	<i>Bret</i>	Gefivn	acc
JS 19 fol	11v6	1840	<i>Troj</i>	Gefion	dat
LBS 1573 4to	16v13	1810-1877	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom

LBS 63 4to	111r10	1843-1848	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
Lbs 756	7v17	1847	<i>Gylf</i>	Óefi3n	nom
LBS 992 8vo	109r3	1870	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefjon	nom
LBS 747 fol	238v26	1871-1875	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
Lbs 5157 4to	15v18	1850-1899	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefjun	nom
ÍB 474 4to	69r18	1870-1880	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefion	nom
LBS 3936 4to	248r24-25	1880-1883	Dpl	Gif í3n	nom
LBS 1511 4to	111v11	1888	<i>Dpl</i>	Gefjun	nom