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Kønugarðr, the Name given to Kiev in the Icelandic Sagas, with an Excursus on *Kind* in Place-Names

In the Icelandic sagas we find the following forms of the name *Kønugarðr*:

Singulars: *Kønugarðr*, in *Landafraedi* (c. 1150); *til Kœnvgarðz*, *Kristni Saga*, *Hauksbók* (1190–1200); *Kœnugarðr*, *Heimslysing*, *Hauksbók* (c. 1200); *ör Kœnugarði*, *Gautrek's Saga* (c. 1200); *ör Kœnagarði*, *Sögubrot* (13th–14th c.); *Kœnugarð*, *Eymundar þáttur* (14th c.).

Plurals: *fýri Kœnugörðum*, *Orvar Odd's Saga* (1250); *Kœnugarðar*, *Göngu-Hrólfr's Saga* (1300); *moti Kœnvgordum*, *Bæring's Saga* (14th c.); *Kiœnugarðar*, *Skálhólt's Bók* (14th c.); *Kiœnugarður*, *Hauksbók* (17th c.), *Addenda*.

Kønugarðr has been dealt with by Nordic as well as Slavonic scholars. Thomsen 1877: 81 writes: "The Old Norse name of Kiev was *Kœnugarðr*." In note 1 *ibid.*: "Accommodated to the Old Norse *kœna*, a kind of boat?" Mikkola 1907: 280 interprets *Kiœnugarðar* as 'Kijánov górod': "In the bylinas we find Kijánov górod, originally Kiján górod, OR kjjánü, as a name for Kiev." This interpretation is proposed also by Roźniecki, in *Izvestija* 16, p. 28, and once more in the chapter "Kijangorod og Nepr" in *Varægiske minder i den russiske heltedigtning*, 1914: 283. Here he adduces an instance from the bylinas, where 'po gorodu *po Kievu*' when repeated was changed into 'po gorodu *po Kijanovu*'. "This is the only time in the bylinas, indeed in the whole of Russian literature, that Kiev is called *Kijanov* (or *Kijanov gorod*)." Strangely, Roźniecki regards the preservation of the expression as due to the popular etymology of *Kijanov gorod* as *Okianov gorod*. He suggests, moreover, that *Kijanov* might derive from an older *Kijan* < *Kijanü*, but has not found *Kijan gorod* in the bylinas. Despite this, Roźniecki states (p. 284): "It is immediately apparent that Kijangorod is identical with ON *Kœnugarðr*. In my view this

name is formed on *Kœnir* n.pl. = Russian *Kijane* 'inhabitants of Kiev'. "*Kœnir* is a word Rožniecki found in Gautrek's Saga. In a footnote on p. 285 he cites *Kijanhorod*, *Kijany* from *Słownik geograficzny*.

Bugge 1918:97 is cautious on the connection between Kiev and *Kœnugarðr*: "In the sagas Kijev is called *Kœnugarðr*, a name supposedly identical with the *Kijangorod* of the bylinas." Thomsen 1919:314, n. 1 supported the derivation of *Kœnugarðr* from *Kyjan(ov) gorod*, adding, however, in accordance with his hypothesis of 1877, "connected by popular etymology to the Nordic *kœna* 'boat'."

Thomsen's interpretation was supported by Hesselman 1925. He states his reasons on p. 109 f.: "No doubt it was our word *kóna* 'boat' that the Northmen understood as the first element of the old name for Kiev, *Kónugarðr*, which is likely to have been originally a transformation, prompted by popular etymology, of a Russian or Vendic name." Hesselman reproduces Schück's account (from the ninth chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*) of the Viking naval expeditions to Kiev, where the ships they had sailed in from Scandinavia were exchanged for new boats. According to Hesselman the oldest spelling is *kœna* < *kóna*, related to *kani* 'boat' as *hóna* to *hani*.

Metzenthin 1941:61 agreed with Mikkola. Stender-Petersen 1953 § 19 took exception to Rožniecki's derivation of *Kœnugarðr*, whether from *Kœnir* or 'Kijan gorod': "Kiev provient directement de la forme *Kyjane*." Vasmer, too, 1967, *s.v. Kiev*, derives *Kœnugarðr* from *kyjane*, as does Trunte 1988:13. *S.v. Kœnugarðr* de Vries 1977 states: "Vielleicht nicht unmittelbar aus *Kijangorod*, sondern Neubildung aus *Kœnir* < russ. *Kijane* — und dann volkstümlich umgebildet nach *kœna*."

Schramm 1984:78 wishes to reconstruct "die urrussische Vorform" for *Kiev* from **Kœnugarðher*. He suggests that *ø* represents an older Nordic *ūā*, as in *buāender* 'farmers', which according to him was equivalent to *Kū₁ēnø*, "eine plausible urrussische Lautung", where *ū*, before 838, had not yet become *ȳ*. *Kiænugarðr*, on the other hand, would represent a later phase, when *ū* had developed into *y* or *i*. Schramm 1984:79 objects to Thomsen's hypothesized boat. If the Northmen had wanted to describe a city where they switched boats they would have called it "die Stadt der Boote", but not "die Stadt des Bootes".

Also Džakson 1988–89:152 f. starts out from *Kyjane*. According to her, *Kænugarðr* is the original form. While *Kœnugarðr* is the result of a labial umlaut in front of a retained *u*, *Kiænugarðr* originates from a *u*-breaking. In her opinion *kœnir* denotes the inhabitants of Kiev, *æ* being an open *e*, unaffected by either breaking or umlaut. A popular etymology, inspired

by this labial umlaut, interpreted the toponym as 'city of boats'. We cannot, however, with certainty expect a strictly consistent development of this toponym; Džakson points at the possibility that the variants are due to scribal attempts to render a local pronunciation.

Strumiński 1996: 130 rejects Schramm's chain of reconstruction as "wrong on both ends", but concurs fully (p. 127) in Hesselman's interpretation of *Kaenugarðr* as 'city of boats'. He also (p. 130 f.) rejects Roźniecki's hypothesis that *kæmir* represents the name for the inhabitants of Kiev, *kyjane*. *Kæmir*, which in the Icelandic sagas appears in several variants, is the name for the Finnish inhabitants of the lowland along the Baltic shores, from Finnish *kainu* 'lowland'. He summarizes: "And, of course, linguistically *Kæmir* is just as far removed from *kyjane* as *Kaenugarðr* is from *Kyjevъ*."

It is my intention to demonstrate that none of the appellatives adduced — *kyjane*, *kæmir*, *kóna* — nor a combination of these three words, is the source of *Kønugarðr*. My starting-point is the root **genu-* f. in Pokorny 1989: 381,2, Greek γένυς, Latin *gena* 'Kinnbacke, Kinn', Old Norse *kinn* f. 'Backe, Bergabhang', Gothic *kinnus* f. 'Wange'. A few scholars, *i.a.* de Vries, regard the root **genw-* as a consonant stem. Frisk states *s.v.* γένυς that the original *u*-stem is retained in the Celtic, Germanic and Tocharian languages. Latin *gena* 'cheek' was attracted to the feminine gender by *māla*, but the *u* is retained in *dentes genuini* 'molars'.

On *kinn* f. Rygh 1898: 60 comments: "*Kinn* is now, as it must have been in the past, also used metaphorically of the steep slope of a mountain or ridge." Such names are also adduced by Fritzner. From Sweden Hellquist 1970 cites *e.g.* *Kinna*, *sub* 1. *kind*. *Svenskt Ortnamnslexikon* (2003) gives *Kinnared* and other examples.

Ekwall 1960: 105 gives instances from England that are contemporary with the Viking expeditions. *S.v.* *Chinnok* he discusses the sense of this name, the oldest instances of which are Cinnuc (c. 950, c. 1100) and Cinioc (1086). "Possibly a derivative of OE *cinu* 'fissure, ravine'. But the consistent *nm*-spelling is remarkable. Formally, OE *cinn* 'chin' (Goth. *kinnus* 'cheek') would be preferable as the base. This word may have been used in a transferred sense of a hill of a certain shape. The ending *-uc*, *-ock* is diminutive, as in *hillock*." The Northmen brought *Kinn* to their western settlements as well, to Iceland, the Shetlands and the Faeroes. Jacobsen 1921 writes on *kinn* on the Shetlands: "In place-names the word is fairly frequent in the sense of steep shore, steep coast", and according to Färoysk-Dönsk Orðabók 1961 *kinn*² means: "sloping side of a mountain projection".

As shown by Pokorny's etymology *i* in *kinn* derives from an IE *e*. Hesselman 1913: 25 has explained the development of *e* into *i* in this word, as well as the appearance of *ia* in certain cases. He deals extensively with *kianni* in his "Om brytningen". *Kinn*, the nominative, is formed on the instrumental case *kenyo*. *n* before another consonant was reduplicated, and before *nn* *e* turned into *i* (Streitberg 1896: 140). This original instrumentalis gave rise to a new paradigm. From Snorri's *Edda* Hesselman (*ibid.* p. 25) adduces *kiann*, *kiannr*, whence he deduces the old paradigm "nom. **keni*, acc. **kiana*, gen. plur. (and other cases) *kiann*". Although he writes that "*kianni* might be a survival of case inflections in this old paradigm" he is inclined to believe that *kianni* is an independent formation without a *u*-suffix (cp. Latin *gena* f.), formed on an *an*-stem **kenan* with reduplication of *n* in certain oblique cases.

Two sound-laws, breaking and umlaut, could affect an *e*-sound. In the Icelandic forms of *Kønugarðr* the *u* of the stem is retained (for the single exception see below). In Primitive or Common North Germanic *e* was changed, through breaking or umlaut, before a *u* in the next syllable. The result of the earlier breaking of *u* was *io*, as in ON *biorg* < **bergu* (see Kock 1916: 276), as was the later breaking of *u*, before a retained *u*, as in *iotunn* 'giant'. According to Kock, p. 282, the spelling of this diphthong is *io* in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts. Since there is no *io* in *Kønugarðr*, no breaking had taken place.

Umlaut of closed *e* to closed *ø* before *u* was first proved, with a number of instances, by Bugge in 1885. His opinion has since been accepted by the Nordic philologists — Hesselman 1913: 64, Jónsson 1919: 314–20, Noreen 1970 § 77,3, and Kock 1916: 168. *u*-umlaut of a short root syllable before a retained *u* is most frequent in West Norwegian and Icelandic, and unlikely to occur before the 10th century. Seip 1955: 46 states: "since *u* apparently remained until after A.D. 800".

Noreen 1970 § 77 is, however, restrictive on the extent of this umlaut; according to him it occurs merely when breaking of *e* was not possible — after *r*, *l*, and in syllables that do not carry the main stress. He finds several words obscure. §§ 393 and 394 deal with the declension of *u*-stems. No instance is given of umlaut of *e*, merely of *a*. Generally, umlaut of the stem vowel can be expected before *u* in the nominative, dative and accusative singular; no exceptions are given. These positions seem to me to be analogous with that of *e* before *u* in *kenu*-. § 395 mentions a single noun with *u*-umlaut of *e* into *ø*, *tøgr* < **tezur* 'ten'. § 77,3 states, however, that this umlaut occurred "in nicht haupttoniger Silbe, z.B. *tuitøgr*". Kock, as well, believes (1916: 168) that the stress was involved in this develop-

ment, but cannot positively state that this was always the case: “Es ist unsicher, ob es ausserdem eine Bedingung für die Entwicklung $e > \emptyset$ war, dass der e -Laut in Semifortissilbe stand. Falls der isl. Pl.N, *rök* ‘Zusammenhang’ durch kombinierten älteren u -Umlaut aus **reku* entstanden ist, so ist es wenigstens im Isländischen keine Bedingung für diese Lautentwicklung, dass die fragliche Silbe nur Semifortis und nicht Fortis hatte.” It is unlikely that the main stress in *Kønugarðr* fell on *garðr*. No word with a syllabic e and a retained u is mentioned by these scholars.

In the Icelandic forms of *Kønugarðr* we find the following graphemes: / e /, / œ /, / æ /, / iœ /, / iæ /, and / \emptyset /. The pronunciation developed from [\emptyset] to [e], a development that Jónsson, Noreen and others believe was completed by the 1250s. However, Jónsson 1919: 314 warns that the spellings of these sounds are confused. The varying graphemes are due to the different scribes, and follow the Icelandic sound changes.

Umlaut of a vowel in the first element of a compound is dealt with by Kock 1916: 165. None of his examples contains an e before a u . The sound laws, he writes, allow umlaut, but a non-umlauted vowel — as in **barklauss* — may be explained by the overwhelming number of compounds containing a -stems in the first element. Replacement of u by a could have occurred in our only example, *ór Kønagarði*, only after e had become \emptyset .

Have any derivations of **ken-*, with various vowels resulting from umlaut or breaking, been found in place-names, thus having the senses ‘mountain’ and ‘hill’, instead of merely ‘skull’, ‘cheek’ and ‘jaw’? I feel certain that Rygh’s *Norske Gaardnavne* lists such instances of the sense ‘mountain’. In the introduction to the first volume Rygh comments on the word *kinn* twice. On p. 60 he says: “*kinn* was confused with *tjorn*, *tjern*, to the extent that it can be difficult to determine which word is used”, and on p. 81: “As early as the Middle Ages there was a neutral parallel *tjarn*, which is the first element in the modern names *Kjensli*, *Kjensmo*, *Kjøsøen*, etc. Among the several pronunciations we might note *Kjinn*, which occurs now and then.” In my opinion two prerequisites were needed for this confusion between *kinn* and *tjorn*. firstly, that in Old Icelandic and in several Norwegian dialects rn in *tjorn* is assimilated to nn before 1300, see Noreen 1970 § 272. From the 15th century this nn could develop into ddn (see Noreen *ibid.* § 305). Secondly, that the vowels in *tjörn*, *tjarn* and *kinn* coincided. Rygh derives place-names containing *Kinn-* and *Tjörn-* almost exclusively from *tjörn*. In a few cases he indicates a twofold probability: “*Kinnli*en: either from *kinn* f. ‘mountainside’, or from *tjörn* ‘Tjern’ (tarn)” (4: 214); “*Kjønnaas*, *Kiønaas* 1626,

Kiønaas 1668. From tjorn f. 'Tjern'. Also, and originally, name for a ridge in the neighbourhood" (5:455). "*Kjernaas vestre*. Pronounced kjænnås. Westre Kinaas 1723. Strictly speaking the name of the ridge" (5:196). The same sense of 'ridge' is likely in *Tjønnaasen* (9:100) and *Kjønnaaasen* (13:72). The sense of 'hill', 'mountain' is manifest in 14:154, no. 72: "*Backen*, called kønnbakken"; 16:145 no. 47: "*Langfeld øvre*, called kjønnen". Here, however, Rygh comments, "derives from tjørn, f. 'tarn'." Compare *ibid.* no. 48: "*Langfeld nedre*. Called bærg." A name Rygh 6:259 records *sub* Lost names is "I *Tiannom*". It denotes a deserted farm, and is likely to contain the same breaking of *a* as do the forms of *kianni* cited by Hesselman. *I Tiannom* would then be synonymous with "I Berge" *ibid.*, also recorded as a deserted farm. The equally unexplained *Tjen*, among Hellquist's Swedish lake-names (1903–06), might derive from the same root.

From these instances of *Kjønn-* in the sense of 'hill', 'mountain' I find it possible to make parallels to synonymous names in the *Jordebog* of Bishop Eystein: *Kønastadir* (Kønø–Køøna–Kønastadir) and *Kiønestad* in NRJ, *Norske Regnskaber of Jordebøger fra det 16 Arh.* The adjective *kønn* 'skilful' is regarded by Lind 1920–21 col. 232, *s.v. Kóni*, as a possible element in the names adduced here.

Hesselman 1925:108 also discusses *køna* as a by-name to *Frirekr*, *Fridekr*. Fritzner (1886–96) gives the spelling *kæna* 'a kind of vessel'. Lind comments, *ibid. s.v. Kóna*, col. 232 *kona*, *kæna*, *køna*, *køna*: "Presumably the word is related to the adjective *kønn* 'skilful' in the same way as *syra* to *surr*, etc." Hesselman, though, regards 'boat' as an equally valid interpretation, *Bátr* being a common by-name.

On the by-name (nickname) *Kiannauk* there is agreement among the scholars. Proceeding from *kiannr* 'cheek', 'jaw' + *auk* 'addition' Lidén 1910:25 interprets the name as 'loudmouth', 'braggart'. Among several other examples containing *-kinn* Lind (col. 96) cites, from the late 10th century, *Galdrakinn*: "The suffix *kinn* 'cheek' refers, as is common, to the whole person (*pars pro toto*). This part of her body has had some sort of distinctive mark."

I find it possible that the senses 'cheek' and 'jaw' are present in *Frirekr køna* as well. In personal names the final vowel *-a* is used also about men (Lidén 1910:27), as in *broosa*, *gapa*, etc. In addition, I question Hesselman's view that *Bátr* supports the sense of 'boat' for *køna*. Fritzner 1886–96:117 comments *s.v. bátr* that, to be sure, the expression 'ausa bát sinn' means "to bail one's boat dry", but it is also used in the sense of "passing water", as evidenced in Icelandic sources. Fritzner adds: "as a nickname

in *Arni báttr.* "Many old nicknames had a rather less flattering significance" (Lidén, *op.cit.* p. 23). Physical defects are a frequent source of nicknames, and *báttr* might be a metaphor for a bladder problem.

Four instances of *Kønugarðr* in the plural are attested in the sagas. Plural forms for a single object occur in several languages. In my opinion these forms should be considered according to Icelandic usage. In his dissertation from 1975, *Plurala ortnamn på Island*, Nilsson establishes (p. 50) that about a fourth of the Icelandic settlement names are plural. On p. 79 he explains certain names as "natural plurals", i.e. referring to plural phenomena; *Holar* is a comprehensive name for a rolling landscape. A corresponding interpretation of the plural *Fedjar* is given by Olsen in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* N.F. 19:97: "... on account of the individual islands that make up the archipelago."

Nilsson also distinguished a group of 'enclosure names', among them *Flóðgardar*. These names were later to designate the settlements that grew up there.

Correspondingly, *Kønugarðar*, etc., can denote a city built on several hills, as is Kiev. Alternatively, it might be an enclosure name. The name was subsequently extended to the whole area, and to the principality. *Gardr* does not have the Icelandic sense of 'yard', it designates a city, or a proto-urban settlement. With Thomsen 1919: 332 I believe that a change of meaning took place, suggested by the Russian word **gor*, *gorod*.

According to Mel'nikova 2001: 71 *Gardar* denoted the fortified settlements that the Scandinavians came across in the Ladoga-Ilmen region. The plural signified a territory, *gardr* an actual settlement. This pattern for the choice of singular or plural does not obtain in other contexts. Džakson 1984: 227 points out that in the Nordic names for *Suzdal'* the plural *Surdalar* denotes the city, the singular *Sürsdalr* the state.

Who was the Viking that brought back the name *Kønugarðr* to Iceland and to the sagas? The Saga of Göngu-Hrólfr tells the tale of the Norwegian Rolf Sturlögsson, who was so heavy that no horse could carry him. (This Göngu-Hrólfr is not identical with his namesake, also called Rollo, who received Normandy in fief for protecting France against other Vikings, although Liljegren attached a biography of Rollo to his translation of the saga.) Chapter 17 describes how Hrólfr journeyed through Svithiod and reached Gardaríki.

Jónson 1907: 341 finds no historical evidence that the hero of the Saga of Göngu-Hrólfr ever existed. But, as he says on p. 5, even though the saga is fiction recollections of Viking expeditions may well be reflected

in it: "Undoubtedly it contains a historical core, a good old 'tradition'. How can we otherwise explain why in these particular late sagas the expeditions do not set out westwards?" It seems to me that alone among the Icelandic sagas the Saga of Göngu-Hrólfr gives an eyewitness account of the position of Kønugarðr, and thus a reason for the name. *Antiquités Russes* I, p. 233, quotes from this saga: "Þridjúngur Garðaríkis er kalladr Kønugarðar, þat liggr med fjallgarði þeim, er skildir Jotunheima ok Hólmgarðaríki." ("A third part of Garðaríki is called Kønugarðar; it is situated by the range of the hills that separates Jotunheim from Hólmgarðaríki.") It was not the memory of the boats at Kiev but that of its hills that prompted this description. What characterizes Kiev is its hills. Callmer 1981:30 states: "The most important elements of the topography of Kiev are these hills", which he describes as promontories. And further *ibid.*: "Kiev is situated on the border between two important ecological zones of the Dnieper Basin, the northern woodland zone [...] and the steppe zone." It would seem that in the words "the range of the hills that separates Jotunheim from Hólmgarðaríki" the anonymous writer of the saga has given an accurate description of this site on the border hills.

In my article "What was the original meaning of the name Kiev?" I have suggested that the Russian name of Kiev, from **kij* 'hill', was motivated by what is now called Starokievskaja gora. Further senses of **kij* — which in place-names translated into German appears as *Keule*, *Kolben* (which may mean 'head'), are 'head', 'headland' and 'promontory'. For *Haupt Bach* (§ 289) gives 'Vorgebirge', "z.B. auf Rügen". De Vries gives *kinn* the sense of 'vorgebirge' in Finnmark, which was colonised by Norwegians, see Seip 1955: 31. A promontory juts out into water, in the case of Kønugarðr the waters of the Dnieper.

The place-name Kiev was formed from *kij* 'hill' and the suffix *-ev*, possibly around A.D. 900. *Kønugarðr* contains *kinn* 'hill'. It is a translation, a calque. If Seip's (1955: 46) dating of the umlaut is correct the name cannot pre-date the 10th century. The translation indicates that the Northmen understood the significance of the name *Kiev*, and were thus not ignorant of the Russian language.

Kind in Place-Names

In Swedish names for places and hundreds *Kakynd* is attested in 1225, *Kind* in Östergötland in 1250, in Västergötland 1270, *Kindculle* in 1325, *Skierkind* 1309, *Hindsekind* 1272, *Frekindzhered* 1275. The element *kind* is present also in such names as *Brokind*, *Kindsjön* and *Kindstorp*, for which I have been unable to find dates.

It has been customary to link names containing the place-name element *kind* to OWN *kind* 'kin, tribe, nation'. Sahlgren 1953 wanted to give *kinn*, *kind* (this *d* an influence from the plural form of *kinn*) the novel sense of 'slope'. In his dissertation from 1965, *Svenska häradsnamn*, and in his article from 2000 "*Kind* som ortnamnelement" (*Kind* as a Place-Name Element) Andersson deals comprehensively with names containing *kind*. In these he rejects the sense of 'hill' and recognizes that of 'kin' — as in *Svia kind* 'the Svia nation'. According to him (2000: 45 f.) *Hindsekind* is a crucial proof of his view. It is situated on the western bank of Lake Hindsen, in remarkably flat country. "As is evident from the topography *Hindsekind* cannot be interpreted as containing a hypothetical **kind*, signifying 'hill'. It follows that this interpretation should not be considered for the rest of the names containing *-kind* either. Nor is there a topographical Nordic appellative **kind*." Andersson gives an account of the various opinions and compromises that have been proposed over the years, and includes comprehensive lists of references. The interpretation 'hill' is discussed in the SOL *s.v.* *kind*. "It can be substantiated in *Kinda* or *Kinds härad* (hundred), and in the hundreds of *Kåkind* and *Kinne*." But in the SOL it is, in individual names, generally the sense of 'kin' that is indicated.

In the following I shall give my reasons for regarding the place-name elements *kinn* and *kind* as one and the same word, with the basic sense of 'hill', as well as a number of additional observations on the senses of these words.

In Hesselman's treatment of *kinn* there is no mention of *kind*. According to Noreen 1904 § 326 n. 1 *kind* is a secondary development first attested in the nominative plural *kinder*. In § 326 he writes: "*d* wird vorliterarisch in die gruppen *llr*, *nnr* (vor der entstehung des svarabhaktivokals) eingeschoben. Der vorgang dürfte der späteren rschw. zeit c. 1100 gehören, denn rschw. beisp. sind sehr selten." Noreen states (1970 § 416) that the inflection of *kinn* is the same as that of the feminine word *ryng* in § 412, which deals with masculine and feminine monosyllabic stems. "Die endungen beider geschlechter wären eigentlich: Sg.N. *-r* . . ."

Accordingly, the consonant group *nr* should have been present in the nominative singular, creating the prerequisites for a *d*-epenthesis. No *r* is present in the nominative singular of the feminine *rþng* in § 413, but *r* appears in the nominative and accusative plural. In masculine nouns *r* was retained, which according to Noreen 1904 § 383 resulted in forms such as *brunðer* ‘well’ and *munðer* ‘mouth’. The nominative singular *kind* would then be a pre-literary formation from a period when *r* was still present. It is the singular form that is represented in the early instances of names on *kind*. The genitive singular of *kinn* is *kinnar*. The nominative and accusative plurals, originally *kinnr*, developed into *kinder*. The genitive plural is *kinna*, the dative *kinnom* or *kinnum*. *Kynnum* 1314 is a regular dative plural, see *s.v. Kinna* in SOL, while *Kynnariuth* 1298 contains the genitive singular *kinnar* and *ryd*.

Frökinds hárad (Frekindzhered 1275, Frökinshæræþ late 13th c.), does not contain the expected genitive on *-ar*, but an *-s* that has puzzled scholars considerably. However, according to Noreen 1970 § 390,2 *-s* might occur in compounds: “gen. sg. endet als erstes zusammensetzungsglied selt. auf *-s*, z.B. (zu hiolp) *hialpsmaþr* heiland”. Thus it seems likely that, like most of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian feminine nouns, *kinn* was inflected as an *i*-stem (*ibid.* § 390). The plural nominatives and accusatives ended in *-er*. Epenthesis of *d* was thus prevented in these forms, but not in the nominative singular **kinnr*. According to § 390,1 the original ending *-r* was retained into the age of early Norse literature in certain nouns, e.g. *brúþr* ‘bride’.

Kind in the nominative is recorded by Rygh as well, but he does not seem to comment on these forms. Thus 1:170 *Kinn*: Kinnen, Kindt, Kind; 6:2 *Kinn*: Kindt, Kind.

My view of the significance and form of the element *kind* is supported also by a number of names outside Scandinavia. *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* gives *s.v. Kindsfels*, FLN, “Kinnsfels, ein steil nach der Nahe und einem kleinem Nebental abfallender Felsen”. The name is thus not exclusively Nordic. Ekwall 1960 comments *s.v. Kinder*, “Kynder Scout, 1285, the highest peak in the Peak district. The probability is that Kinder is an old hill-name . . . Scout is the north country scout ‘a high rock or hill’, from ON *skuti* ‘overhanging rock’.” Ekwall explains *Kinder* as a British (Celtic) name, but I have found no word in the relevant literature that might correspond to a British *Kynder*. *Nd* is a combination that contradicts a British origin; according to Jackson 1953: 508 “British *nd* normally became assimilated to *nn*”. Fritzner 1886–96 explains *skuti* m. as “sloping mountain with an overhang”. This would correspond to the Swedish

Åreskutan. On the Shetland Islands the word is found with both a long and a short vowel. Rygh 1:75 comments on *Skot*, as in *Skotsberg* 1:184: “something that juts out or crops up, particularly elevated land”. In my opinion this *Kinder* could be a Norwegian name. According to Ekwall 1924:56 it was chiefly Norwegians who from about 900 onwards came over to the west coast of England from older colonies in Ireland, “preferably (p. 79) settling in hilly districts which we may suppose to have been waste land before the Viking age”. The link with the Norwegian *Scout* strengthens the assumption that *Kinder* is a Norwegian name. A *d*-epenthesis was thus present in this hill-name about 900 A.D., i.e. in pre-literary times.

Pace Andersson, *Hindsekind* is, according to the map published by Lantmäteriverket, situated on a small ridge, a minor elevation that reaches into Lake Hindsen to end in Näsudden. In the same province, Småland, there is another *Hinsekind*, on a clearly noticeable elevation on Lake Lädja. Like *skuti*, *kind* denoted a mountain with a slight overhang. *Kindsjön*, *Kinnanäs*, *Brokind*, *Kindstorp* on Lake Tisnaren, as well as other names, bear witness to this type of location. But it also denoted a ‘high hill’. This seems a good description of *Fjälkinge* (Fialkinn 1135), which rises a good hundred metres above the flat Kristianstad plain, as of *Kinneulle*, which can be seen rising above Kinnevikén.

According to the SOL the prefix in *Kåkind's härad*, attested in 1225 as (de) provincia Kakynd, is obscure; it might correspond to Danish *kå* ‘jackdaw’. Lidén 1931 derives *kå-* in place-names from **kwādu-* ‘resin’, rejecting all previously proposed interpretations, such as *kaa* ‘turn hay’, *kā-beinn* ‘crooked’, *kād* ‘dissolute living, filth’, and *ka* ‘jackdaw’. There is no mention of *Kåkind*.

Linde 1982:24 deals with *Kåkind*, *Kåhög* (2×), *Kåberg/et/* (2×), and *Kåbergshagen*. The mounds of earth that *Kåhög* and other names refer to are unlikely to have yielded resin, he says. Like Sahlgren 1953:8 Linde interprets *kå* as OSw **ka* ‘jackdaw’, and *Kåkind* as ‘the slope of Billingen with jackdaws’.

I find it significant that Rygh does not associate the farm-names with the sense of ‘jackdaw’, neither in *Kaafell* 1:85, *Kaholmen* 1:84, *Kaaberger* 15:206, *Kabrecken* 15:218, nor in other similar names, but describes them as uncertain. I find the association of jackdaws with these treeless earth mounds quite as improbable as that of *Kåhög* with the bends in the Säve River, adduced in the SOL, and prefer to derive *kå* from the root *gēu-*, *gəu-*, *gū-* in Pokorny 1989:393, with the senses of ‘biegen, krümmen, wölben’ “... unerweitert wohl in norw. *kā-beinn* < **goṷo-*,

'krummbeinig'". *Kaa-*, *kābeinn* is found as a nickname for several persons in Lind's *Norsk-isländska personbinamn*, 1920–21:182, e.g. Olafur, A.D. 1239. The adequate translations are likely to be 'knock-kneed', 'bow-legged', implying a rounded shape of the leg.

Kå- thus defines *kind* 'the hill, mound' as a rounded topographical feature, a knoll, and *Kåkind* would denote the modern Billingsluttningen, "slope of the Billingen hill", a slope that is manifest in the map published by Lantmäteriverket. The major part of the hundred of *Kåkind*, including its centre, *Skövde*, is situated on this slope.

Kågeröd in *Skåne*, as in all probability *Kåge*, *Kågedalen* in *Västerbotten*, are likely to derive from the same root and share the sense of 'rounded hill, knoll'. According to Ejder 1979: 152 the first element is the "stem of a word deriving from *kāgh-*". Among the recorded instances of *Kågeröd* we find variants with no consonant in the first element (*Kaaryth*, *Karydh* 1351), with a *g* (*Kagryth* 1390) and with a *v* (*Kovred* 1558). The same variation seems likely to result from Pokorny's root **gouo*, in this case, according to Noreen 1970 §256, with *w* as a base; examples of analogous formations are *Rógar*, *Rówar*, *Róarr*.

Andersson calls for a topographical appellative *kind*. Metaphorical names, however, do not always have a corresponding appellative. As Rygh pointed out in his comment on *Skot* above, 1:75: "In place-names *Skot* n seems to be used in senses not otherwise known for this word."

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