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Sørbine, *Sørenine* and *Sørensine*: The feminising suffix *-ine* as a phenomenon in the Danish naming practice

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***Sørbine*, *Sørenine* and *Sørensine*: The feminising suffix *-ine* as a phenomenon in the Danish naming practice**

Abstract: Feminine names formed from masculine names with the suffix *-ine* constitute a substantial innovative phenomenon in the anthroponymic system in Denmark. Supposedly, this kind of name emerged in Denmark with the name of a princess in the 17th century, but despite the perception of high-class origins, the name type is described as being characteristic of the rural population in the 19th century Denmark.

The names are formed with either the primary suffix *-ine* or secondary suffixes with the addition of a consonant from a base name, e.g. *-bine*, *-mine* and *-sine*. The majority of *-ine*-names are formed from masculine names, but *-ine*-names formed from existing feminine names are also known.

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This article presents results of a three-phase pilot project where various aspects of *-ine*-names are examined. First, the manifestation of *-ine*-names is examined by investigating feminine names created from the masculine name *Søren* in the censuses 1787, 1801, 1840 and 1880. Parallels are drawn to other masculine names (*Jacob* and *Morten*) as well as feminine names (*Birthe* and *Karen*).

Demographics and regional variations are taken into consideration in the second phase of the study. The use of *-ine* names in a minor geographical area, the county of Øster Flakkebjerg on Zealand, is explored through the four censuses mentioned above. To illuminate the development of the naming practice in the rural area, the names are classified into 11 groups sorted by the names' final sound, and the results are compared with names used in the nearby town of Næstved. In the third and final phase, the practice of naming after relatives as a motive behind the usage of *-ine* names is explored through a family from rural Zealand.

Keywords: Personal names, feminised names, *-ine*-names, 19th century, Denmark.

Sørine, Sørbine et _Sørensine_ : Le suffixe féminisant _-ine_ comme phénomène dans la pratique de dénomination danoise

Résumé : Les prénoms féminins dérivés de prénoms masculins avec le suffixe *-ine* constituent un phénomène innovant et substantiel dans le système anthroponymique au Danemark. Prétendument, cette catégorie de prénom serait apparue au Danemark avec le prénom d'une princesse au XVII^e^ siècle. Malgré la perception d'une origine issue de la haute société, cette catégorie est décrite comme typique de la population rurale du Danemark au XIX^e^ siècle.

Ces prénoms sont construits avec le suffixe primaire *-ine,* ou bien avec des suffixes secondaires comprenant une consonne d'un prénom de base, par exemple *-bine, -mine* et *-sine*. La majorité des prénoms en *-ine* sont dérivés de prénoms masculins, mais il y a aussi des exemples de prénoms dérivés de prénoms féminins déjà existants.

L'article suivant présente les résultats d'un projet pilote. Celui-ci comporte trois phases examinant différents aspects des prénoms en *-ine*. Premièrement, l'apparition de prénoms en *-ine* est investiguée à partir des prénoms féminins dérivés du prénom masculin *Søren,* dans les recensements de 1787, 1801, 1840 et 1880, auxquels sont ajoutés quelques parallèles avec d'autres prénoms masculins (*Jacob* et *Morten*) et féminins (*Birthe* et *Karen*).

Les données démographiques et les variations régionales sont prises en considération dans la seconde phase du projet. L'usage des prénoms en *-ine* dans une région géographique limitée, le département historique d'Øster Flakkebjerg Herred, dans le sud-ouest de l'île de Seeland, est examiné à travers les quatre recensements susmentionnés. Afin d'éclairer la pratique de dénomination dans la région rurale, les prénoms sont divisés en onze groupes, selon une classification faite sur le son final du nom, et les résultats sont comparés avec les prénoms utilisés dans la ville de Næstved. Dans la troisième et dernière phase, la pratique de dénomination d'après des membres de la famille, comme un motif possible derrière l'usage des prénoms en *-ine,* est explorée à travers l'analyse d'une famille du Seeland rural.

Mots-clés : Noms de personne, prénoms féminisés, prénoms en *-ine*, XIX^e^ siècle, Danemark.

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***Sørine, Sørbine* und *Sørensine*: Das feminisierende Suffix *-ine* als Bewegung in der dänischen Namenspraxis**

Zusammenfassung: Weibliche Vornamen, die aus männlichen Vornamen durch das Suffix *-ine* gebildet werden, sind ein wesentliches innovatives Phänomen im anthroponymischen System in Dänemark. Es wird angenommen, dass diese Art von Namen in Dänemark erstmals mit dem Vornamen einer Prinzessin im 17. Jahrhundert aufkamen, aber trotz der Auffassung des adeligen Ursprungs, ist diese Art von Vornamen beschrieben als charakteristisch für die ländliche Bevölkerung im Dänemark des 19. Jahrhundert.

Diese Vornamen werden entweder durch das primäre Suffix *-ine* oder durch das sekundäre Suffix mit Hinzufügen eines Konsonanten eines Grundnamens gebildet, z.B. *-bine*, *-mine* und *-sine.* Die Mehrheit der *-ine*-Namen werden von männlichen Vornamen abgeleitet, aber es existieren auch *-ine*-Namen, die aus bereits existierenden weiblichen Vornamen gebildet werden.

Dieser Artikel präsentiert einige Resultate eines dreiphasigen Pilotprojektes, in dem verschiedene Aspekte der *-ine*-Namen untersucht werden. Zuerst wird die Etablierung der *-ine*-Namen erforscht, indem weibliche Vornamen, die aus dem männlichen Vornamen *Søren* abgeleitet wurden, in den Volkszählungen 1787, 1801, 1840 und 1880 untersucht werden. Hier werden Parallelen zu anderen männlichen Vornamen (*Jacob* und *Morten*) sowie weiblichen Vornamen (*Birthe* und *Karen*) gezogen.

Demographische und regionale Variationen werden in der zweiten Phase dieser Studie berücksichtigt. Der Gebrauch der *-ine*-Namen in einer abgegrenzten geographischen Gegend, der Harde Øster Flakkebjerg auf Seeland, wird durch die oben genannten Volkszählungen untersucht. Um die Entwicklung der Namensgebung in dieser ländlichen Gegend zu beleuchten, werden die Namen in elf Gruppen dem Auslaut nach kategorisiert, und die Ergebnisse werden mit den Namen der in der Nähe liegenden Stadt Næstved verglichen. In der dritten und letzten Phase wird die Namensgebung nach der Verwandtschaft als ein Motiv für den Gebrauch von *-ine*-Namen anhand einer Familie des ländlichen Seelands untersucht.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Vornamen, feminisierte Vornamen, *-ine*-Namen, 19. Jahrhundert, Dänemark.

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Sørbine, *Sørenine* and *Sørensine*: The feminising suffix *-ine* as a phenomenon in the Danish naming practice

LARS-JAKOB HARDING KÆLLERØD

1. Introduction

Feminine names derived from masculine names with the suffix *-ine* constitute a substantial movement in the anthroponymic system in Denmark, and this type of naming has been described as a characteristic of the rural population towards the end of the 19th century (Meldgaard 1965: 62). Today, what seems to be only a fraction of the many *-ine*-names found in Danish church records and censuses from the 19th century are in use, and the vast majority of these names are fairly rare. Names like *Hansine*, *Jensine* and *Nielsine* were common in the 19th century, but according to Statistics Denmark (Danmarks Statistik, DSt), no girls have been given any of these names as a first forename between 2015 and 2018. Furthermore, according to DSt's Barometer of names (Navnebarometer), which shows names given to babies for each year from 1985 to present day, only five girls have been named *Hansine* as the first forename in this period, while the numbers for *Jensine* and *Nielsine* are ten and six times respectively (DSt.Navneb.). A few names in the group of *-ine*-names are still frequently used though. A particular example of this is the name *Josefine,* which along with its less common variant *Josephine,* was given to 411 babies in 2018, ranking it as the 7th most popular name for baby girls that year (DSt.Top50/2018).

Consequently, the group of names derived with the suffix *-ine* presents a unique chance to thoroughly investigate a trend in the Danish naming practice, from the birth and gradual spread of the phenomenon within the wider population until its subsequent decline. So far, there has been little research on this topic in Denmark. An article by Lis Weise (1989) contains a short introduction and a presentation of some manifestations of the phenomenon. Additionally, Eva Villarsen Meldgaard's two surveys of the general naming in minor geographical areas, Skast County in southwest Jutland (Meldgaard 1965) and Vor Frue (parish) in the capital Copenhagen (Meldgaard 1990), contain partial studies of the geographical dimensions of the phenomenon. Furthermore, Birgit Eggert (2008) mentions *-ine*-names linked to the so-called 'Nordic Name Renaissance', and Gulbrand Alhaug (1990) examines *-ine*-names in Norway, the origin of which is Danish. Despite the notable innovation this naming practice represents for the anthroponymic system of

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Denmark, a systematic study on a national scale examining the manifestations and usage of -*ine*-names is yet to emerge.

This paper takes some initial steps to cover the aforementioned gap. It must be emphasised, however, that it is by no means the purpose of this article to give a comprehensive and thorough examination of the use of -*ine*-names in Denmark, as such a study would be too extensive for this format. The purpose is rather to justify further investigations of -*ine*-names. To achieve this, the focus is on domestically formed -*ine*-names in Denmark in a three-act pilot project investigating their use on different scales. Here, it should also be mentioned that parts of this article were previously published in Danish in the article "*Birtheline*, *Jakobine* og *Knudsine*. Almuens brug af -*ine*-navne i 1800-tallet" in *Landbohistorisk Tidsskrift: Navne på landet* (Kællerød 2019).

The first phase of the pilot project examines the creativity of the act of feminising a name with the suffix -*ine*, by investigating how female names derive via this suffix from the masculine name *Søren* in Denmark, in four censuses covering the period 1787 to 1880. Parallels will be drawn to other masculine names (*Jacob* and *Morten*) and -*ine*-names formed from female names (*Birthe* and *Karen*) are also taken into consideration. In the second phase, the focus is on the county of Øster Flakkebjerg, a smaller rural area on the island Zealand, and the nearby town of Næstved. Some general observations of similarities and differences in the use of -*ine*-names between the rural parishes and the town are presented, and the manifestations of -*ine*-names in Øster Flakkebjerg are listed. In the third part of the pilot study, the tradition of naming after relatives as the motive behind -*ine*-names is investigated through a rural family from the village of Kellerød in Western Zealand. Before presenting the results of this three-act pilot project, it is appropriate to introduce the concept of -*ine*-names in Denmark briefly.

2. Theory, approaches and methods

Of the few surveys done on -*ine*-names in Denmark, the primary ones are the aforementioned Weise (1989) and the partial studies of Meldgaard (1965; 1990). The first survey from 1965 focuses on name usage in the rural county of Skast in southwest Jutland from 1636 to the middle of the 20th century, while Meldgaard's later survey deals with names in the parish of Vor Frue 'Our Lady' in Copenhagen in approximately the same period. The datasets are from the land register (1636) and church records of five parishes in Skast (1656–60, 1706–10, 1756–60, 1806–10, 1856–60, 1906–10 and 1956–60), as well as church records of baptisms for 500 girls and 500 boys in eight periods in Vor Frue (1650–55, 1700–03, 1750–54, 1800–03, 1850–52, 1900–04, 1950–60 and 1974–80). The first appearance of an -*ine*-name derived from a masculine name in Skast is found in the period 1806–10, where *Bertelsine* is

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listed once. Over the next periods, the use of *-ine*-names increases significantly and reaches the highest point in 1906–10, when 48 of 327 girls are baptised with an *-ine*-name (Meldgaard 1965: 76–79), after which the type of name is less frequent. Meldgaard finds a similar pattern in Copenhagen, where the phenomenon of *-ine*-names appears earlier. In Vor Frue, there is a considerable share of *-ine*-names in the periods 1800–03 and 1850–52 before the number decreases towards 1900–04. This suggests that *-ine*-names follow an often-seen pattern in naming practices whereby a phenomenon originates in a metropolis and spreads to other towns and from there to villages and rural areas (Meldgaard 1993: 66).

Lis Weise's survey (1989) is the only one in Denmark focusing solely on *-ine*-names. Weise distinguishes between names derived with what she describes as the primary suffix (*-ine*), and derivations with secondary suffixes (*-bine*, *-dine*, *-fine*, *-gine*, *-line*, *-mine*, *-nine*, *-rine*, *-sine*, *-tine* and *-vine*). These secondary suffixes emerged when the final sound of a base name is subtracted and becomes the initial sound of a new suffix (Weise 1989: 416). For example, the *-m* in the masculine names *Vilhelm* and *Rasm*(*us*) are pronounced as the initial sound of the suffixes in the derivations *Vilhel*'*mine* and *Ras*'*mine*, and as a secondary suffix *-mine* is then used to derive masculine names that do not contain *-m* such as *Bertelmine* (< *Bertel*), *Hansmine* (< *Hans*) and *Larsmine* (< *Lars*). Both primary and secondary suffixes are used to create feminising derivations from either an entire base name or just a part of it, such as *Jørgen-ine*, *Jørg-ine*, *Jørgen-gine* and *Jørge-mine*, all of which are formed on the basis of the masculine name *Jørgen*.

Weise's survey is based on data from the Danish Civil Registration System (CPR), which was created in 1968, and her focus is on the period before 1900 and until 1910, to which she notes that the oldest persons registered in CPR should be born in approximately 1835 (Weise 1989: 415). For the study, the data was arranged alphabetically as written backward (retrograde) to identify names ending with *-ine,* in order to discuss form and frequency (ibid.: 416). Unfortunately, the geographical aspects are rather deemphasised in the survey, but some regional observations are mentioned. For instance, *Rasmine* is more common on the island of Funen and *Vilhelmine* in Copenhagen, and this corresponds with the spread of the masculine names *Rasmus* and *Vilhelm* (ibid.: 420). Weise concludes that the frequency of *-ine*-names is higher as second forenames or later in a row of names, and they were more popular in rural areas, especially in Jutland (ibid.: 424).

As mentioned, *-ine*-names are described as characteristic for the rural population in Denmark in the 19th century, but their starting point was in the upper class. The phenomenon of *-ine*-names originates in France from where they came to Denmark via Germany (Meldgaard 1990: 160). Danish princess Vilhelmine Ernestine (1650–1706), who was a daughter of King Frederik III, is believed to be the first domestic person with this kind of name. The motives

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behind *Vilhelmine* and *Ernestine* could possibly be naming after relatives, since Frederik III's German-born queen Sophie Amalie had brothers named Georg Wilhelm (1624–1705) and Ernst August (1629–1698). However, both *Wilhelm* and *Ernst* have been common names among the German nobility (Weise 1989: 161), and the motive may be found outside of the immediate family.

Vilhelmine Ernestine is by no means the first woman in Denmark whose name ends with *-ine*, but she is the first known example from Denmark where the suffix is used to feminise a masculine name, and therefore relevant in the context of this article. Other names with *-ine* such as *Katrine*, *Christine*, *Trine*, *Stine* and *Caroline* are not found relevant for this article and therefore not included when the term '*-ine*-names' is used. *Katrine* has been present in Denmark since the 15th century, but this name is a development of the female name *Katharina* (DgP 1: column 731–737; Kællerød 2018). *Christine* is known in Denmark since the 12th century and is a development of the feminine name *Christina*, which in analogy with the masculine name *Christian* is derived from Latin *christianus*, meaning '(a) Christian' (Meldgaard 1990: 177). *Trine* is a shortened form of *Katrine* and *Stine* a shortened form of *Justine*, *Kirstine*, *Kristine* and other names with this ending. *Caroline* is not regarded as a domestic derivation but an in-loaned form that originates in France and England (Lerche Nielsen 2006).

It is not always possible to determine with certainty whether a name has been formed on Danish ground or not. *Nissine* is derived from *Nis*, which in the southern parts of Jutland is a local development of the name *Niels* (< *Nikolaus*), and therefore *Nissine* can be regarded as a definite domestic form. It is trickier with the name *Josefine*, which, according to Meldgaard (2002), is known and in use in Denmark because of Empress Joséphine (1763–1814), the spouse of Napoleon I. However, *Josefine* appears in the census from 1801 in the town of Kolding as a forename of the 50-year-old Josefine Frederikke Kirstine Lange, which shows that the name was in use in Denmark before Empress Joséphine became prominent. *Josefine* may have to be regarded as both a Danish feminisation of the name *Josef,* as well as an in-loaned name from France with a similar origin.

Some *-ine*-names have an ambiguous origin and could be formed from a masculine or a feminine name, so a distinction can rarely be made with certainty. The name *Josine* may be a contraction of the feminine name *Josefine*, or, as *Josefine*, a feminisation of the masculine name *Josef*. *Laurine* may be a feminisation of the masculine name *Laurits* (< *Laurentius*) but can also be a diminutive derivation of the feminine name *Laura*, and similar to this, *Pauline* may be a derivation of the masculine name *Paul* or a diminutive derivation of the feminine name *Paula*.

One of the main reasons for the popularity of *-ine*-names in Denmark is presumably the fact that they made naming after relatives possible across genders. Primarily, that means naming girls after male relatives (Kruken 1982:

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63; Alhaug 1990: 142). However, that aspect is not relevant when the suffix is used on base names that already are feminine names such as *Karen* (> *Karenline*) and *Mette* (> *Mettine*). It seems plausible, that the feminising *-ine*-names became a source of inspiration for the creation of even more names, and the *-ine*-sound may have appealed phonetically to people and led to a wide creativity. This is supported by the fact that the base names for some *-ine*-names appear to be pure inventions (Kruken 1982: 63).

3. Derivations with *-ine* in four censuses

The dataset of names for the first part of the pilot project is established through search results in the digitised versions of the censuses from 1787, 1801, 1840 and 1880 from Danish Demographic Database (*Dansk Demografisk Database*, see DDD in References), covering the entire country of Denmark. To verify the names, these results are at times compared to the facsimile versions of the censuses, available from Archives Online (*Arkivalier Online*, see AO in References). In analogy with Weise (1989), the approach of distinguishing between the *-ine*-names deriving with the primary suffix (*-ine*) and the eleven potential secondary suffixes (*-bine*, *-dine*, *-fine*, *-gine*, *-line*, *-mine*, *-nine*, *-rine*, *-sine*, *-tine* and *-vine*) is used.

3.1. Feminisations of the masculine name *Søren*

In the four censuses, a total of 22 lexical names are found to be feminising derivations of the masculine name *Søren*. As Table 1 shows, four names are derived with the primary suffix *-ine*, namely *Søreine*, *Sørenine* and *Sørine* with the spelling variant *Sørrine*. It can be argued that *Sørrine* should be regarded as a derivation formed with the secondary suffix *-rine*, but as there was hardly any consistent difference in the pronunciation of *Sørine* and *Sørrine*, the latter is regarded as an orthographic variation of *Sørine*, by analogy to Weise's (1989: 416) view on *Nielsine* and *Nielssine*, for instance.

The remaining 19 names are all formed with secondary suffixes, and in fact, all 11 possible suffixes are in use to feminise the name *Søren*. This exceeds the highest number of suffixes used to feminise a sole masculine name in Weise's (1989) article, where ten suffixes are in use to feminise the name *Jørgen*. This suggests an insufficiency in Weise's data as many potential name bearers undoubtedly were deceased prior to the introduction of the CPR in 1968.

The table shows that the number of feminine *-ine*-names derived from *Søren* increases significantly throughout the 19th century, and especially towards the end of the period covered by the survey. With seven recordings in 1787, six in 1801 and 49 in 1840, *Sørine* (and *Sørrine*) is the only name that appears in the earlier censuses.

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Table 1: The number of feminised names derived from the masculine name *Søren* with the suffix *-ine* in the censuses 1787, 1801, 1840 and 1880. The left side of each column shows the total number of individuals with each name while the right column (in parentheses) specifies the number of times the name is used as a first forename.

		1787		1801		1840		1880	
		Total	1st name	Total	1st name	Total	1st name	Total	1st name
Søreine	*-ine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørenine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	4	(2)
Sørine		6	(4)	6	(3)	48	(32)	2,246	(1,402)
Sørrine		1	(1)	–	(–)	1	(1)	16	(12)
Sørbine	*-bine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørenbine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(–)
Sørdine	*-dine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	4	(2)
Sørendine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	2	(1)
Sørafine	*-fine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørfine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	2	(2)
Sørgine	*-gine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	27	(19)
Sørenline	*-line*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	7	(6)
Sørline		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	4	(3)
Søremine	*-mine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørenmine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	15	(11)
Sørmine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	5	(2)
Sørnine	*-nine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørenrine	*-rine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(–)
Sørensine	*-sine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	54	(44)
Sørencine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørresine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	1	(1)
Sørsine		–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	12	(11)
Sørentine	*-tine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	7	(4)
Sørvine	*-vine*	–	(–)	–	(–)	–	(–)	3	(2)
Total		**7**	**(5)**	**6**	**(3)**	**49**	**(33)**	**2,417**	**(1,530)**

However, in 1880 all 22 lexical names are present and no less than 2,417 women are registered with one of these names. A significant part of the names that appear in 1880 are rare. *Søreine*, *Sørbine*, *Sørenbine*, *Sørafine*, *Søremine*, *Sørnine*, *Sørenrine* and *Sørresine* are all listed merely once, and the same applies to *Sørencine*, which is a spelling variant of the more common *Sørensine*. *Sørine* occurs 2,246 times and in addition there are 16 women registered with the spelling variant *Sørrine*. Thus, *Sørine* is by far the most common derivation from *Søren*, while the second most common is *Sørensine* which including one occurrence of *Sørencine* is listed 55 times in 1880, followed by *Sørgine* with 27. Only two more names are registered more than ten times, namely *Sørenmine* (15) and *Sørsine* (12).

The feminised names derived from *Søren* are formed either from the entire base name e.g. *Søren-ine*, *Søren-mine* and *Søren-tine*, or from a part of it as *Søre-mine* and *Sør-bine*. The 22 lexical names are formed as follows:

– *Søren* + *-ine*, *-bine*, *-dine*, *-line*, *-mine*, *-rine*, *-sine*, *-tine*;
– *Sør*(*r*)*e* + *-ine*, *-fine**, *-mine*, *-sine*;
– *Sør*(*r*) + *-ine*, *-bine*, *-dine*, *-fine*, *-gine*, *-line*, *-mine*, *-nine*, *-sine*, *-vine*.

Note that *Sørafine* is considered as an orthographic variant of the made-up name **Sørefine*.

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Almost two thirds of the names appear as individuals' first or only forename in the censuses, which in 1880 is the case for 1,530 of 2,417 names. This may differ from Weise's (1989: 416) survey where *-ine*-names are mainly second forenames or later components of individuals' full names. However, her numbers are based on the frequency of occurrence, rather than on actual counts.

3.2. Feminisations of the masculine names *Jacob* and *Morten* in 1880

The 1880 census counts nine feminine lexical names derived from *Jacob* with the suffix *-ine*, and these are distributed on 39 spelling variants. *Jacobine* is derived with the primary suffix *-ine*, while six of the 11 secondary suffixes are in use: *-dine* (*Jacobdine*), *-fine* (*Jakkophine*), *-gine* (*Jacobgine*), *-line* (*Jacobline*, *Jakoline*), *-mine* (*Jakobmine*, *Jakomine*), and *-sine* (*Jacobsine*). The majority of these names are formed from the entire base name *Jacob* as only *Jako-line* and *Jako-mine* differ from this. With 5,399 occurrences, *Jacobine* is by far the most common of these names in 1880, and it exists in a total of 23 spelling variations which includes peculiar forms as *Jackobbine*, *Jacubbine*, *Jagobine* and *Jakkopbine*, but also variants where a dialectal pronunciation with apocope is present, *Jaccobbin*, *Jacobien* and *Jacobin*. Forms with *-bb-* and *-pb-* could be argued to be derived with the secondary suffix *-bine*, but in analogy with *Sørine* and *Sørrine* (and *Niels* and *Nielssine*, Weise 1989: 416) there has presumably not been a clear and consistent difference in the pronunciation of these forms. The derivations formed with secondary suffixes are registered 66 times in total whereof *Jakobmine* and *Jakobline* are the most common with 32 and 17 entries respectively. *Jacobdine*, *Jakkophine*, *Jacobgine* and *Jakoline* only occur once each.

Eleven lexical names are derived from *Morten* with the suffix *-ine* in the 1880 census. *Morine* and *Mortine* with the spelling variant *Morthine* are formed with the primary suffix, while the remaining nine names are derived from six secondary suffixes: *-dine* (*Mordine*), *-gine* (*Morgine*, *Mortengine*), *-line* (*Morteline*, *Mortenline*), *-mine* (*Mortenmine*), *-sine* (*Mortensine*, *Mortesine*) and *-tine* (*Mortentine*). The name *Mordine* is complex, as this form could be regarded as a spelling variant of *Mortine*, since the masculine name *Morten* usually is pronounced with a hard *d*-sound. However, from a modern perspective there seems to be a clear difference in the Danish pronunciation of the female forms where *Mortine* is pronounced with an aspirated plosive (a distinct *t*-sound), while *Mordine* is pronounced with an unaspirated plosive (a *d*-sound), and therefore they are regarded as two names here. Six names are derived from only a part of the base name. *Morine*, *Mordine*, *Morgine* from *Mor-*, *Mortine* from *Mort-* and *Morteline*, *Mortesine* from *Morte-*. In total, 90 women are registered in the census with a name that is derived from *Morten*, and 59 of these with the name *Mortine* or the spelling variant *Morthine*. Of the remaining names in this group, *Mortenline* is registered ten times, *Mortensine*

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seven and *Mortentine* four, while the rest of the names are registered only between one and three times each.

The brief review of feminine names derived from *Jacob* and *Morten* in the census from 1880 shows similar patterns as presented for *Søren*. In each group, one name stands out as the most preferred in the naming practice. Thus, *Jakobine* (including spelling variants) stands for no less than 98.8% of the feminine names derived from *Jacob*, while 93.6% of the names derived from *Søren* is *Sørine*. *Mortine* stands for a lower share, yet 65.6% of the feminising -*ine*-names derived from *Morten* is *Mortine*. A significant part of the names appears very seldom, but their existence demonstrates an innovative and creative naming practice.

Approximately two thirds of the -*ine*-names derived from *Søren* and *Morten* appear as a first or only forename in the census from 1880. However, the situation is different for names derived from *Jacob*, as approximately half of the registrations in this group appears later in a full name. An explanation for this could be that *Jakobine* has one syllable more than both *Sørine* and *Mortine*, and in Denmark there is a tendency of longer names appearing later in an individual's full names (Meldgaard 1990: 145–154; cf. Hamann 2010: 59–61). Nonetheless, these results may partly be in contrast to Weise's (1989: 416) statement that -*ine*-names mainly act as a second first name or later in an individual's full name.

3.3. -*Ine*-names formed from the feminine names *Birthe* and *Karen* in 1880

During the 19th century, it became more common to include -*ine* in pre-existing feminine names, and here the motive could not be naming after male relatives. These -*ine*-names may indicate a trend in the use of the suffix -*ine*, and it seems possible that the -*ine*-sound was perceived as phonetically appealing. Gradually, the suffix spread in more or less creative combinations to practically all existing names, both masculine and feminine.

The feminine name *Birthe* forms the basis of six lexical names ending with -*ine* in the census from 1880, namely *Birtegine*, *Birtheline*, *Birthemine*, *Birthesine*, *Birthetine* and *Birtrine*. Of these, *Birtheline* is with 22 registrations the most common one, and the remaining names all only appear one or two times in the entire census. It is worth noting that five of the names are formed with the full base name as only *Birtrine* differs from this. Six lexical names are formed from *Karen*, and they are all derived from the entire base name with what appears to be a secondary suffix. These names are *Karendine*, *Karenline*, *Karenmine*, *Karenrine*, *Karensine* and *Karentine*. *Karentine* appears 162 times while *Karensine* appears 51 times and *Karenline* 23 times.

With the exception of *Birtrine*, the names are all formed with an entire base name and what appears to be a secondary suffix. This may indicate that -*ine*-names formed from existing feminine names should not be regarded as derivations, but rather as compound names (cf. Weise 1989: 416). Many secondary

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suffixes have eventually come into use as lexical names (*Line*, *Mine*, *Sine* etc.), and these could be the second components in names like *Birteline*, *Birthemine* and *Karensine*. In the modern Danish naming practice, compound names are often written as one name or put together with a hyphen such as *Annemarie* and *Anne-Marie*, while *Anne Marie* is considered as two forenames, although the modern pronunciations in these examples often are identical. There is no clear distinction observable in the 1880 census, though. In this census, there are numerous examples of full names such as *Maren Dine Erichsen* and *Sara Mine Thybo*, where the *-ine*-names appear as lexical names and not derivative suffixes nor as parts of compound names. However, a similar structure can be found after masculine names as in *Adolf Fine Sofie Kristensen* and *Erik Mine Jensen*, and as the name bearers are women, *fine* and *mine* must definitely be regarded as suffixes.

4. *-Ine*-names in southwest Zealand

The first part of the survey dealt with *-ine*-names in Denmark in general but in the second part the focus will be on more local manifestations. The county of Øster Flakkebjerg in the southwestern part of Zealand, approximately 70 kilometres from the Danish capital Copenhagen, is the object for this case study. Again, the data is taken from the censuses of 1787, 1801, 1840 and 1880, and throughout this period the population in the 14 rural parishes in the county increased from a total of 6,782 individuals in the 1787 census over 7,161 (1801) and 9,800 (1840) to 13,174 in 1880. Parallels are drawn to the use of *-ine*-names in the nearby town of Næstved that borders with the parishes Fodby and Herlufsholm in the southeastern part of Øster Flakkebjerg County. The population growth is more significant in Næstved from 1,507 in 1787 over 1,785 (1801) and 2,271 (1840) to 4,792 in 1880. Here follows a brief comparison of the use of *-ine*-names in general in Øster Flakkebjerg and Næstved and an overview of the *-ine*-names in use in the rural parishes. Again, the names are dealt with in analogy with Weise (1989) and subdivided into eleven groups. Each contains both derivations with the primary suffix (*-ine*) and the secondary suffix the group corresponds with.

4.1. General observations of *-ine*-names in Øster Flakkebjerg and Næstved

In the three early censuses, the actual number of *-ine*-names appears to be higher among the population in Næstved than in the rural parishes, but by the end of the examined period the situation had changed significantly. In 1840, 119 women are registered with an *-ine*-name in Øster Flakkebjerg, while the number in Næstved is 161, but in 1880 *-ine*-names are found 783 times in the rural parishes, while the number in Næstved is just half of that, at 382. In that sense, this survey partly substantiates the description of *-ine*-names as characteristic for the rural population in the 19th century as suggested by Meldgaard (1965: 62) and Weise (1989).

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However, when the different patterns of the population growth are taken into account, the results are different. As Figure 1 shows, a larger proportion of the population in Næstved are still in 1880 registered with an -*ine*-name compared to Øster Flakkebjerg. In Øster Flakkebjerg, 5.9% of the population appears with at least one -*ine*-name in the latter census, but in Næstved that is the case for 8% of the population. Further, the graph clearly shows that the use of -*ine*-names expanded earlier in the town where the figures go from 2.3% (1787) and 3.0% (1801) to 7.1% (1840) after which the frequency increases more moderately to 8% (1880). In the 14 rural parishes, the starting point is as low as 0.2% (1787) and 0.4% (1801). By 1840, the figure had risen to 1.2%, with a more significant upsurge to 5.9% evident in 1880.

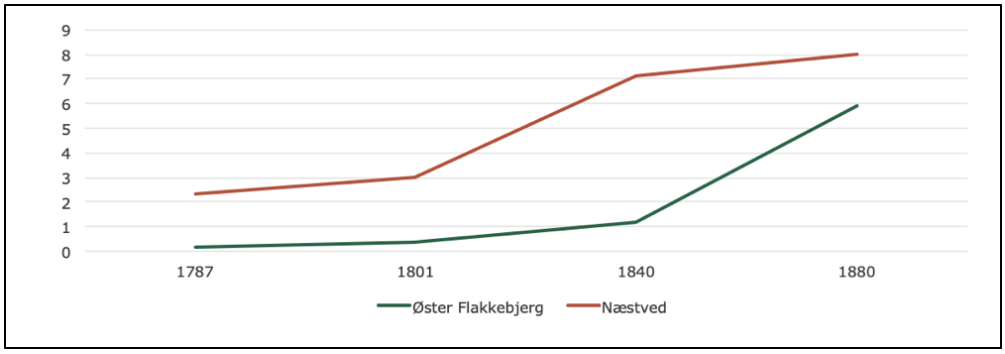


Figure 1: Graph showing the proportion (%) of the population registered with -*ine*-names in the censuses from 1787, 1801, 1840 and 1880 in the rural parishes in Øster Flakkebjerg County, and the town of Næstved.

Thus, -*ine*-names in this survey do not appear as a significant rural phenomenon, but it must be emphasised that no hasty conclusions should be drawn. The curve representing Øster Flakkebjerg in Figure 1 is approaching the Næstved-curve, and it is possible that the curves would have crossed each other if the survey had covered the last 20 years of the 19th century. It must be kept in mind that no studies of the background of individuals has been done. The figures show where the women are registered but not where they originate from, and a potentially significant part of the women in Næstved could be servants born in the countryside. Weise (1989: 424) also mentions that the -*ine*-names were more common in Jutland, but this part of the pilot project only deals with one county and one town located on Zealand. The situation could be different elsewhere in the country.

4.2. Overview of manifestations of -*ine*-names in Øster Flakkebjerg

The following is a simple overview of the lexical -*ine*-names registered in Øster Flakkebjerg County in the four censuses as well as their distribution in the 11 groups determined by the final sound of the names (Table 2).

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Throughout the period, the number of lexical *-ine*-names increases, from 12 (1787), over 20 (1801), and 46 (1840) to 84 (1880). The table demonstrates that lexical names ending with *-line* are especially common in 1880, as 21 names are classified in this group. Additionally, *-sine* (with 15 lexical names) and *-tine* (with 12) are both relatively frequent. By contrast, the least popular suffixes in 1880, *-nine* and *-vine*, are represented with just two lexical names each. The same three suffixes dominate in Næstved, but here, *-tine* is the most common suffix, appearing in 14 lexical names, whilst *-sine* is the suffix of 12 lexical names and *-line* of 11.

Table 2: Lexical names with *-ine* in the four censuses in the county of Øster Flakkebjerg, divided into groups determined by their final sound. The number of occurrences for each name is in parentheses.

	1787	**1801**	**1840**	**1880**
-bine	*Jacobine* (1)	*Jacobine* (2)	*Jacobine* (9), *Bine* (1)	*Jacobine* (25), *Bine* (1), *Tobine* (1)
-dine	*Conradine* (1)	*Conradine* (2), *Mundine* (1)	*Claudine* (1), *Conradine* (1), *Mondine* (1)	*Claudine* (5), *Conradine* (5), *Bernhardine* (1), *Carldine* (1), *Edvardine* (1), *Ferdinandine* (1)
-fine			*Adolphine* (2), *Josephine* (2)	*Josephine* (9), *Adolfine* (3), *Rudolfine* (1)
-gine	*Regine* (1)		*Georgine* (7), *Regine* (4), *Helgine* (1)	*Jørgine* (22), *Regine* (10), *Georgine* (2), *Helgine* (1), *Jogine* (1)
-line	*Nicoline* (2), *Pouline* (1)	*Nicoline* (3), *Pouline* (3), *Oline* (2), *Bertholine* (1), *Eline* (1), *Line* (1)	*Nicoline* (17), *Pouline* (7), *Line* (2), *Oline* (2), *Birtheline* (1), *Bodiline* (1), *Boline* (1), *Eline* (1), *Martoline* (1), *Michaeline* (1), *Rosaline* (1)	*Oline* (60), *Nicoline* (51), *Pouline* (28), *Boline* (18), *Eline* (15), *Line* (12), *Bartoline* (3), *Birtheline* (3), *Bodeline* (3), *Rosaline* (2), *Aline* (1), *Barline* (1), *Cilline* (1), *Eilerline* (1), *Jaceline* (1), *Karenline* (1), *Karline* (1), *Kartseline* (1), *Kiersline* (1), *Nataline* (1), *Petroline* (1)
-mine	*Wilhelmine* (2)	*Wilhelmine* (2), *Erasmine* (1)	*Wilhelmine* (19), *Mine* (2), *Abrahamine* (1), *Jeastemine* (1), *Rasmine* (1)	*Vilhelmine* (81), *Rasmine* (33), *Mine* (9), *Hermine* (2), *Erasmine* (1), *Larsmine* (1), *Ottomine* (1)
-nine				*Anine* (5), *Johannine* (1)
-rine		*Petrine* (2), *Severine* (1)	*Petrine* (4), *Laurine* (2), *Larine* (1), *Sørine* (1)	*Petrine* (84), *Laurine* (19), *Alexandrine* (2), *Sørine* (2), *Birtrine* (1), *Larine* (1), *Sarine* (1), *Serine* (1)
-sine	*Gedsine* (1), *Josine* (1), *Nielsine* (1), *Sine* (1)	*Sine* (2), *Josine* (1), *Rosine* (1), *Thomasine* (1)	*Jensine* (8), *Hansine* (4), *Sine* (4), *Larsine* (2), *Fresine* (1), *Lorentsine* (1), *Rasine* (1)	*Hansine* (186), *Jensine* (116), *Nielsine* (33), *Larsine* (20), *Sine* (8), *Andersine* (4), *Clausine* (4), *Frandsine* (3), *Thomasine* (3), *Elsine* (1), *Jørgensine* (1), *Lorentzine* (1), *Madsine* (1), *Melsine* (1), *Petrosine* (1)
-tine	*Ottine* (1), *Winsentine* (1)	*Clementine* (1), *Fæstine* (1), *Ottine* (1)	*Martine* (4), *Ottine* (2), *Augustine* (1), *Clementine* (1), *Ernstine* (1), *Hartine* (1), *Justine* (1), *Valentine* (1)	*Martine* (17), *Albertine* (7), *Bertine* (2), *Larentine* (2), *Mettine* (2), *Valentine* (2), *Bodiltine* (1), *Botine* (1), *Justine* (1), *Klementine* (1), *Lauratine* (1), *Ottine* (1)
-vine			*Levine* (1)	*Elvine* (4), *Marvine* (1)

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5. Naming with -*ine*-names in the family from Kellerød

In this third and final part of the pilot project, the focus is on naming after relatives as the motivation for the use of -*ine*-names. For this purpose, the naming in a rural family from the village of Kællerød (today Kellerød) in the parish of Tystrup in southwestern Zealand is in focus. The strong traditions of naming after relatives are undeniably an important motive behind the use of feminising -*ine*-names. The tradition of naming after forefathers has roots in pre-Christian times and the belief of transmigration of the soul (Storm 1893: 199), but has been maintained, with some adjustments, in Christian times, and it is regarded as a significant factor for the continuity in the anthroponymic nomenclature in Denmark from the Middle Ages up to the 19th century (Meldgaard 1982: 200). To this tradition, a strong hierarchy is developed so paternal relatives take priority and, unless a recent death gives reason to change the order, children are named after the paternal grandfather before the maternal grandfather, paternal grandmother before maternal grandmother, paternal uncle before maternal uncle and so it continues (Storm 1893; Meldgaard 1982). Feminine derivations of masculine names with -*ine* made it possible to name baby girls after male relatives, and in the patriarchal rural communities of the 19th century, this was convenient, since it was unknown for example if there would be more (or any) boys in a family.

Christian Krarup, who worked as the local priest in Tystrup, investigated the genealogy of the family from Kællerød, from which I descend myself. The genealogy was first published in 1923, and in 1946 the revised and expanded edition, which has been the basis of the present survey, was published (Krarup 1946). The family traces its origins back to Jens Pedersen, who had his son Michel baptised in Lynge Church in 1641. Michel's son, Jens Mikkelsen, is described as a farmer in Kellerød (Krarup 1946: 8), and his son, Anders Jensen, was born in the village and went on to have 12 children of whom five of the boys subsequently started a family. Krarup gives these five branches of the family names derived from the location where the ancestors lived. The oldest of the five brothers, Jens Andersen, owned Bønnekærgaard in the village of Haldagerlille, hence Krarup names this branch *Haldagerlille*. The younger brothers were also farm-owners: Oluf Andersen in Kallehavegaard, Kellerød (the branch *Kællerød*), Lars Andersen in Hulegaarden (*Hulegaarden*), Jakob Andersen in Valdemarsminde (*Valdemarsminde*) and Niels Andersen in Egegaard, Ravnebjerg (*Ravnebjerg*) (see Figure 2). In general, the family is committed to the area and most of its members in the 18th and 19th centuries are peasants or married into peasant families in the parishes of Tystrup and Haldagerlille or surrounding parishes.

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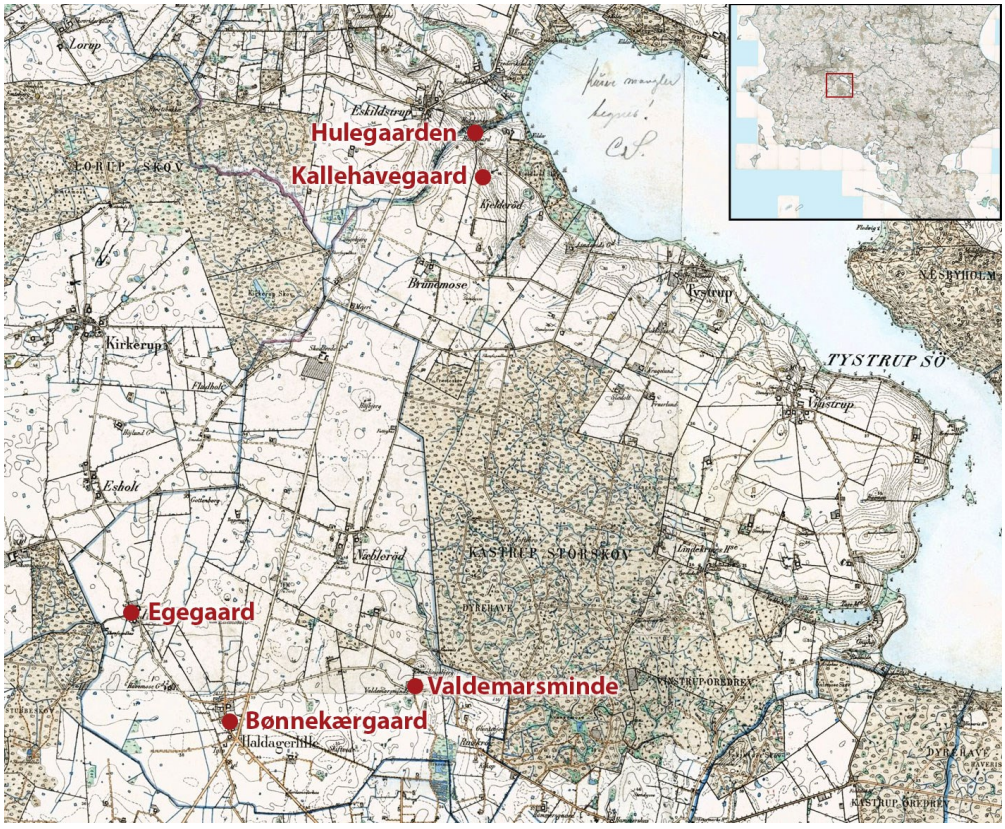


Figure 2: The location of the farms where the ancestors of the five branches of the family from Kællerød resided. Hulegaard and Kallehavegaard are located in Kellerød in Tystrup Parish, while Bønnekærgaard in Haldagerlille, Egegaard in Ravnebjerg and Valdemarsminde all are located in Haldagerlille Parish. Map by the author and Bo Nissen Knudsen based on Larsen (2012).

Names occurring in the first three generations of direct descendants from the five ancestors have been analysed. That includes a total of 198 women with 318 forenames of which 27 are *-ine*-names found relevant for this survey; *Rasmine* appears eight times, *Vilhelmine* three times, *Hansine*, *Jørgine*, *Nikoline*, *Oline* and *Petrine* all appear twice and *Andersine*, *Karenline*, *Larsmine*, *Mettine*, *Nielsine* and *Pauline* once each. Based on the genealogy, naming after relatives appears as the motive in approximately half of these cases, of which a few examples are given.

Rasmus Pedersen from the *Haldagerlille*-branch died in 1845, and he is an example of naming after both the paternal and maternal grandfather. It seems to have been urgent for Rasmus Pedersen's son Johan Rasmussen to name his children after his father, and as the first two children born after Rasmus Pedersen's death were girls, the youngest one was given the name *Rasmine*. One year later, a boy was born and he was given the name *Rasmus*. Rasmus Pedersen's daughter, Anne Kirstine Rasmusdatter, gave birth to a baby girl in 1846, less than a year after her father's death, and the daughter was called Anne Rasmine.

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A similar urgency to name after a grandparent seems to have been present in the family from *Hulegaarden*. Jens Thomsen was married to Marie Jørgensdatter, and among his nine children was a girl named *Marie Jørgine* and a boy named *Jørgen*. From the patronymic name *Jørgensdatter*, it can be deducted that the children's maternal grandfather was named Jørgen, and one could assume, they are both named after him. Marie Jørgine's and Jørgen's uncle Peder Thomsen was the father of Laura Karenline, where the motive behind the name *Karenline* could be the paternal grandmother, Karen Larsdatter. In that case, *-line* could have a diminutive meaning as "little Karen". Laura Karenline's younger sister is named Ella Petrine, and *Petrine* may be motivated by her father's name, *Peder*. These are just a few examples of possible motives behind *-ine*-names that can be deducted from the genealogy of the family from Kællerød. Overall, naming after grandparents seems to be the most important motive. Besides the examples mentioned, another seven or eight incidents of *-ine*-names are likely to be motivated for similar reasons.

6. Closing remarks

This article presents some results of a three-act pilot project dealing with feminine names derived from masculine names with the suffix *-ine*. These names became very popular in Denmark in the 19th century, and are described as characteristic for the rural population in this period. Nonetheless, *-ine*-names do not feature prominently in Danish anthroponymic research, therefore the aim of the pilot project is to emphasise the necessity for further examination of this phenomenon.

The first part of the pilot project deals with the creativity seen in the process of transforming a masculine name into feminine names with the suffix *-ine*. This has been done by investigating the feminine names derived from *Søren* in the censuses from 1787, 1801, 1840 and 1880, and by drawing some parallels to derivations from other masculine names (*Jacob* and *Morten*) as well as to *-ine*-names formed from existing feminine names (*Birthe* and *Karen*). It is clear that the use of *-ine*-names increases significantly through the period the survey covers, in terms of both lexical variety and number of individuals with the names in question. In the censuses from 1787, 1801 and 1840, *Sørine* is the sole feminised *-ine*-name derived from *Søren*, but in 1880, no fewer than 22 feminine names derive from *Søren* with *-ine*. In the three earlier censuses, *Sørine* occurs seven, six and 49 times respectively, but in 1880 no less than 2,262 women are registered with this name. Many of the derivations are found very rarely, several only once. It is remarkable, that almost two thirds of the names appear as individuals' first or only forename, which may contradict Weise's (1989: 416) statement that *-ine*-names mainly act as a second first name or later in an individual's full name. Similar patterns are found in derivations from *Jacob* and *Morten*, which suggests an innovative and creative naming.

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When the feminising *-ine*-names are compared to *-ine*-names formed from existing feminine names, it is striking that the feminising names are derived both with primary and secondary suffixes from the entire base name (e.g. *Søren-line* and *Søren-sine*) as well as only parts of the base name (e.g. *Sør-ine* and *Sør-sine*). With the exception of *Birtrine*, all names created from feminine names in this survey are made with secondary suffixes and the full base name (e.g. *Birthe-line* and *Karen-tine*). In analogy with Weise (1989: 416), this suggests that these *-ine*-names should be regarded as compound names rather than derivations. However, a clear distinction is difficult to make based on the censuses, as there probably was no difference in the pronunciation of names as *Birthe Line* and *Birtheline*. This is supported by the fact that several derivations from masculine names are written as *Jakob Bine* or *Hans Sine*. Further analytical examinations of this phenomenon would be beneficial, and that is one of the issues that could be addressed in a future systematic study of *-ine* names in Denmark.

The pilot project's second part presents *-ine*-names in the rural county of Øster Flakkebjerg in southwestern Zealand and the nearby town of Næstved. The data here also comes from the four censuses mentioned above, and again it is shown that the use of *-ine*-names is increasing throughout the period in both the parishes in the countryside and the town. However, this happens at a different pace. The highest proportion of *-ine*-names is found in the town of Næstved in 1880, where 8.0% are listed with such a name, with only 5.9% in the countryside. This may indicate that the *-ine*-names are not as characteristic for the rural population as previously suggested by Meldgaard (1965 and 1990) and Weise (1989).

The third and final part of the pilot project deals with naming after close relatives as a motive for using feminising *-ine*-names. This is done by giving an overview of some samples of a genealogy from a family from Kællerød (Kellerød). Most of the examples include girls named after a grandfather, but examples of possible naming after both a paternal grandmother and a father are given.

The three-act pilot project shows a number of interesting aspects of the use of *-ine*-names, and some findings confirm the studies done by Weise (1989) and Meldgaard (1965 and 1990), while others contradict these. However, the pilot project only represents initial studies, and a larger systematic examination of the *-ine*-names would be necessary to develop better methods to distinguish between derivations and compound names, as well as to clarify more aspects in connection with social background and regional variation. Future studies of the use of *-ine*- names in Demnark would also benefit from a more international perspective. This should draw parallels particularly with research from other Nordic countries and Germany into feminised names with *-ine*, and similar suffixes such as *-ina* and *-iina*, to the extent that this research exists. Nonetheless, it is clear that the *-ine*-names constitute an exceptionally creative phenomenon in the Danish naming practice of the 19th century.

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