

ENGLISH STREAM NAMES AND LINGUISTIC STRATIFICATION: A TEST OF NICOLAISEN'S GEOGRAPHIC MODEL

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Introduction. As historical linguistics developed, scholars found that geographic place-names formed great corpora of linguistic artifacts. Subsequent investigation has shown that, in western Europe at least, many place-names are of great antiquity. Among the most persistent, in spite of phonological, morphological, and even semantic change, are river names, undoubtedly because successive waves of settlers almost always seek the water supply, the agricultural land, and the transportation afforded by river valleys. As prominent geographical features, most rivers acquired specific names which were passed on even to speakers, peaceful or hostile, of other languages.

In the British Isles there are several linguistic strata -- Celtic, Latin, Old English, Old Danish, Old Norse, Anglo-Norman -- reflected in the place-names. Historians as well as linguists have recognized that the types and distributions of the various items in the strata have historical implications. For instance, certain types of place names, such as those ending in -ing and -ham, represent very early phases of Anglo-Saxon settlement and thus help to map the progress of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England.

One of the first trained linguists to study the place-names of Great Britain was Eilert Ekwall, whose *English River Names* (1928) and *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th ed., 1960) are still basic reference books. It was he who first emphasized that many of the river names in Britain were of Celtic provenance. This fact had historical significance, because written records as well as settlement names indicated that the incoming Anglo-Saxons had either killed or driven to the west of England almost all Britons. Yet the survival of Celtic river names demonstrates some period of bilingualism and thus the survival of Celtic inhabitants.

The fact that the ancient Celtic language of Britain, Brittonic, disappeared long ago has made the historical study of Celtic place-names very difficult. One monumental study, however, elucidates much about ancient Brittonic -- Kenneth Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (LHEB) (1953). Jackson's work still remains the most authoritative in this field, and his division of the Celtic stratum of place-names in England into three regions showing density increasing from east to west, seems to be as far as geographic study has progressed. In addition, this Celtic layer brought to light by Ekwall and Jackson has long been considered the earliest stratum that could be found.

In Scotland, however, where Celtic is still alive in Scots Gaelic, a more recent scholar, W.F.H. Nicolaisen, has been investigating that area's place-names. In fact, Nicolaisen has become interested in the elusive but increasing evidence of pre-Celtic names in Britain in general. Whether such names form an earlier "Old [Indo-] European" stratum as Nicolaisen believes, or is a pre-Indo-European layer is still problematic, but "Old European" does have other adherents, especially on the continent, and may eventually prove to have relevance to the search for "Nostratic" languages.

Nicolaisen, in his search for pre-Celtic Scottish names, focused on stream names and developed the following theory, later formalized in a model:

If, then, the names of the larger and more important water-courses are the most durable of all types of place-names and if, further, the fertile valleys of the larger rivers are likely to have been settled first, whereas the tributaries and smaller streams, especially in hilly and mountainous country, might have seen permanent human settlement only centuries, or perhaps even thousands of years, later, it would appear to follow that the names of the larger rivers should go back to the earliest 'stratum' of settlement and therefore also to the earliest language spoken, whereas the tributaries and smallest burns would preserve evidence of later linguistic invasions. This is, of course, not to be seen as a mechanical hierarchy which could never be interfered with....As a general rule, however, such a conclusion would seem to be acceptable. (W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (1976, pp. 173-174).

Nicolaisen proceeded to test this theory on a small Scottish stream system -- that of the River (R.) Livet. This test appeared to bear out his theory and to be useful for his purposes. Nicolaisen never claimed that the model would apply anywhere but the Scottish highlands, yet it seemed worth applying to an English stream system, to see if it has a wider validity than Nicolaisen envisioned, and thus to be useful as an historical research tool. To that end, the following test was devised.

Source Material, Collection of Data, and Procedures. The system of the Trent River in the English Midlands was selected as the subject of the model test. That river and its tributaries were chosen because an extensive list of tributary names in the upper reaches of the Trent are available in the recent Staffordshire volume (Part 1, 1984) of the English Place Name Society (EPNS) series. It soon became apparent, however, that the watershed of the Trent encompassed more than Staffordshire -- to be specific, it also drains much of the counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, as well as bits of Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Warwickshire. There are EPNS volumes with excellent lists of names for Derbyshire (Part 1, 1959), Nottinghamshire (1940), and Warwickshire, but none for the counties of Lincoln and Leicester. Thus the material for the last two is not as extensive. Since they are on the fringes of the Trent system, however, any omissions are not likely to have skewed the results.

In the EPNS volumes the tributary names are listed alphabetically, with an indication of the larger stream into which they flow, and with citations of early forms of the name, or sometimes of a totally different former name. There is also usually discussion of the definite or possible linguistic source for the elements of each name.

This study concerns itself only with the three principal layers -- Celtic, Old English, and Old Scandinavian. This is because the Latin names are almost wholly based upon the earlier Celtic ones, while the most recent pre-modern English layer, Anglo-Norman, consists mostly of phonological and spelling differences. The Celtic stratum, although mostly Brittonic in character, is labeled "pre-English" on the study's maps and lists. This term is preferred by scholars because of the possibility that some names thought to be Celtic may be pre-Celtic or non-Indo-European -- thus indicating how difficult even today is the linguistic investigation of this ancient layer.

This study accepts and utilizes the linguistic origins as found in the EPNS volumes, Ekwall and Jackson. These authorities are generally in agreement as most EPNS authors rely heavily on the work of the two great scholars.

The alphabetic arrangement in the EPNS volumes, and the unavailability of the very large-scale maps needed to locate geographically every small stream, made it rather

difficult to reconstruct the entire Trent network. Nevertheless, that goal was almost completely achieved. The result of this work is the set of Maps 1, 2, and 3, and Lists A, B, and C, only samples of which are published in this paper. In the latter, the alphabetic arrangement has been retained in a format that allows the viewer to see the hierarchy of the Trent's subsidiaries down to very small brooks, not all of which were locatable on the maps.

The historical strata on the Maps are labeled as follows:

- (1) Streams with pre-English (mostly Celtic Brittonic) names are labeled with the name.
- (2) Streams with Old English (OE) names (the overwhelming majority) are *unlabeled* in order not to clutter up the maps, with the following exceptions: R. Erewash and R. Manifold -- these streams are located on the maps and identified with an asterisk (*) because they are referred to in the **Discussion**.
- (3) Streams with Old Scandinavian names (mostly Old Norse) are labeled by the name in a box. In addition, the generic terms "beck" and "dyke" appear on the maps, also boxed. See **Discussion** below for further reference to "beck."

The Lists are annotated in the left-hand column, as follows:

- (1) linguistic source -- pre-Eng, OE, OSland;
- (2) linguistic hybrids are marked OE/ON, etc.;
- (3) "taut" marks the name as a tautological compound.

Names in quotation marks are earlier names known from written records.

The annotation of linguistic origin helps to make clear the linguistic stratification; the hybrids and tautological names indicate stages from bilingualism to incomprehensibility of pre-English names.

Discussion. The Trent itself has a well-documented Celtic name: Trisantonā, recorded by Ptolemy. As it runs through Staffordshire (Map 1), all of its major tributaries also have pre-English names. The only exceptions are the second-level R. Manifold, which is likely to have had a pre-English name (see List A), and the Rs. Swarbourn and Blithe, which are smaller streams with OE names. In addition, the tributaries of the R. Dove other than Manifold are all Celtic. Staffordshire boundary rivers which belong to other systems also mostly have pre-English names.

As the Trent passes through the southern part of Derbyshire (Map 2), it has only two major direct tributaries: the Derwent (Celtic) and the Erewash (OE). However, the Derwent itself has three Celtic tributaries. It is only in the smaller brook systems that the names are predominantly OE. (That is true also in the northeast system of streams that are not part of the Trent watershed.)

In Nottinghamshire (Map 3), the numerous "becks" and "dykes" rather than "brooks" testify to the strong Danish influence. In comparison, Staffordshire has none of

these generic terms and Derbyshire only one "beck" in an earlier name. While these Scandinavian generics in Nottingham appear to violate the Nicolaisen model, amidst this primarily OE and OSland setting there is still a cluster of Celtic tributaries to the Trent in the southern part of the county as well as the R. Idle in the north. Also to be noted is that the "becks" and "dykes" are mostly hybrids with OE first elements.

In general, Scandinavian first elements are too scarce and scattered to form a clear geographical pattern. However, all except Bycarrs Dyke in Nottingham are second- and third-level tributaries.

As for the "lost" names shown in quote marks, most are in Nottinghamshire, some in Derbyshire, almost none in Staffordshire. The considerable replacement in Nottinghamshire raises the question of availability of proper evidence for the evaluation of the Nicolaisen model, at least in this area of England.

Conclusions. Nicolaisen's geographic/chronological model appears to have some validity. The major rivers of England almost without exception display Celtic or otherwise pre-English names. In the system of the Trent, its immediate tributaries mostly have Celtic names, as do some of their branches. But beyond the first two levels of branches, all is OE interspersed with a few OSland first elements, and with a rash of OSland generics in Nottingham. Why the pre-English names persist so consistently to specific levels of the system is a question requiring further investigation: Were the valleys of the small tributaries too narrow or too stony to interest early and widely dispersed agriculturalists? Were the tributaries with pre-English names the navigable streams?

While conforming to the Nicolaisen model, the evidence from this river system occupying three-plus English counties corroborates and adds details to Kenneth Jackson's three east-west divisions -- fewest pre-English names in Nottingham, more in Derby, and many in Stafford.

Although there are certainly departures from the model -- as Nicolaisen predicted there would be -- it does seem that it might make a useful diagnostic tool. For instance, in Staffordshire, given the fact that the R. Manifold not only flows into a Celtic river but has itself a tributary with a definitely Celtic name, one would expect Manifold not to be the original name. Indeed, as noted above, there is such a possibility. Such an anomaly, then, may serve as a flag for additional investigation of a name.

Anomalies also raise questions about the reasons why the tributary system of the probably pre-English Idle are all OE when similar sub-systems in the counties to the west have another level of Celtic names. A possible answer to this question comes from a glance at an atlas: the area drained by the Idle's headwater tributaries is the northern part of fabled Sherwood Forest and thus was probably more densely forested in ancient times, making it unattractive to the earliest settlers.

Another anomaly: why in Nottinghamshire has there been such a thorough change of OE "brook" to ON "beck" -- except for a cluster of "brooks" on R. Soar sub-system southeast of the Trent? Also, most county boundary rivers have pre-English names -- why is the R. Erewash, between Derby and Nottingham, OE?

Aside from anomalies, linguistic stratification in general raises questions concerning bilingualism. What evidence do the types and distribution of hybrids and tautological compounds provide for the history of language change? Answers to all such questions

require much added research in other forms of evidence such as topography and settlement patterns.

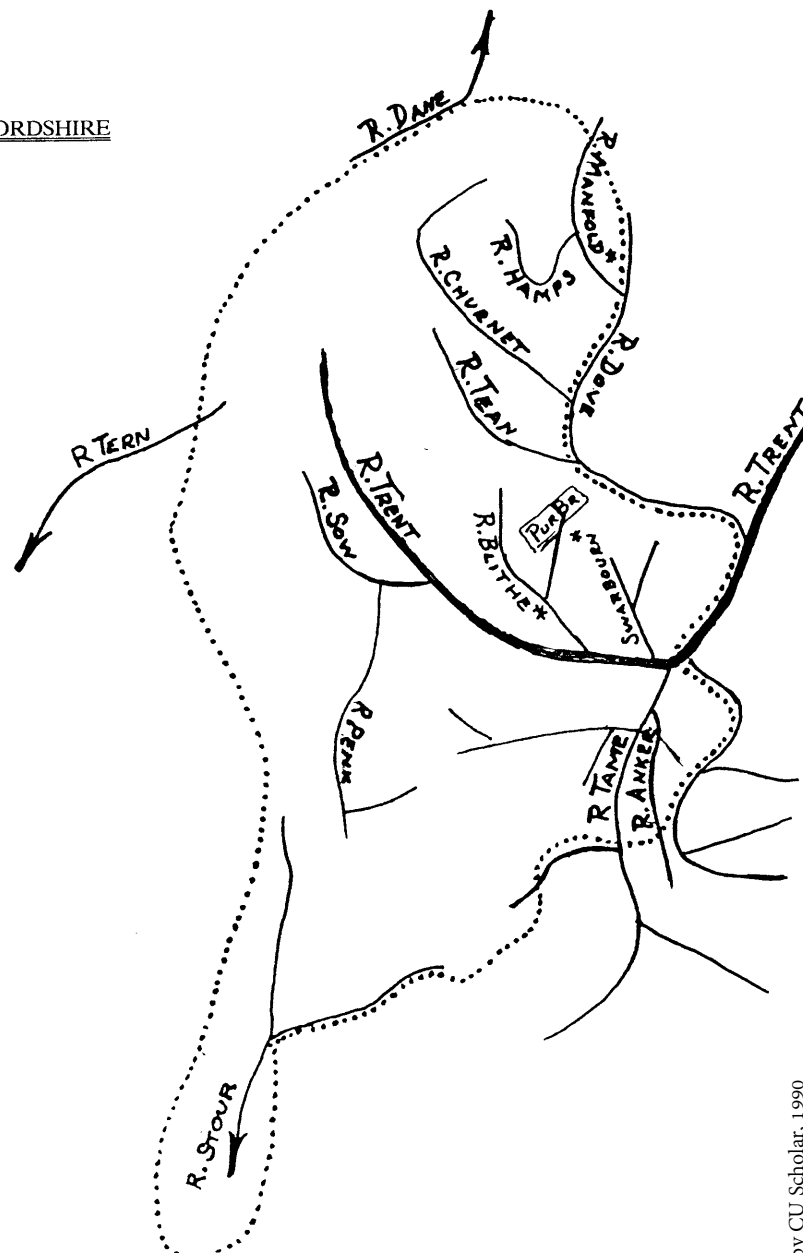
Finally, an even broader question is whether river systems in other parts of England show a similar pattern – cursory investigation of the Berkshire reaches of the Thames make that seem likely. And beyond Great Britain, do river systems in other countries also adhere to this pattern? Thus this simple test of the Nicolaisen model, in giving it tentative authentication, has raised more questions than it has answered.

LOCATION OF TRENT RIVER SYSTEM



MAP 1

STAFFORDSHIRE

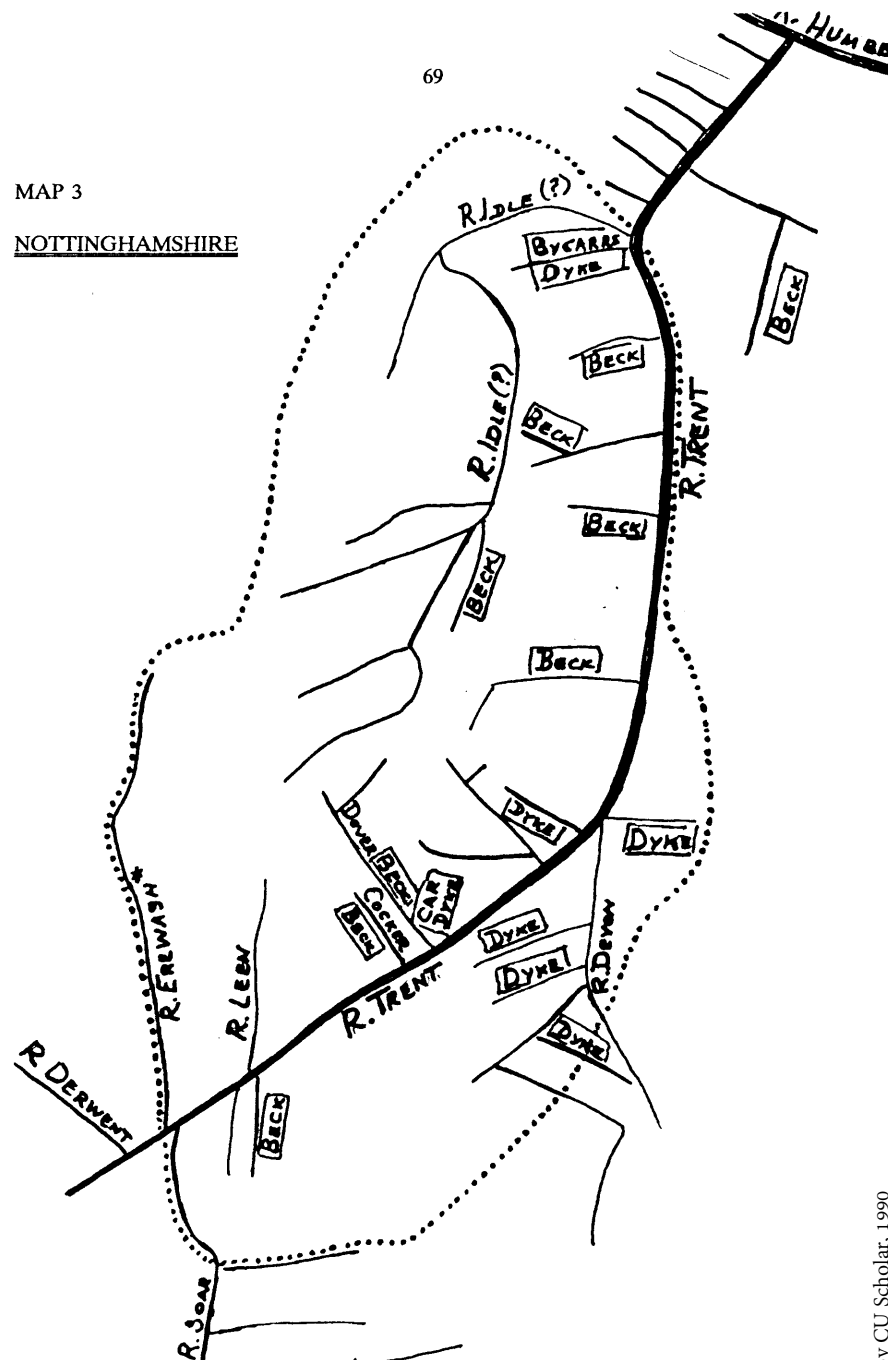


Partial List B: TRENT STREAM SYSTEM - DERBYSHIRE, ETC.

(pre-Eng)	R. Trent (< Trisantona)
(pre-Eng)	R. Derwent
(pre-Eng)	R. Amber
("OScand")	Alfreton Brook "Grivel"
	Normanton Brook "Blackwell Brook" 1573
	Birches Brook "Blakebroc"
	Marsh Brook
	Winnay Brook
	Bar Brook
	Heathy Lea Brook
(pre-Eng/OE)	Blackleach Brook
	Umberley Brook
	Lea Brook
	Wadshelf Brook
	Beeley Brook
("OScand"/OE)	Bentley Brook "Kyrkebroke" 1415
(taut)	Bradbourne Brook
	Bletch Brook
	Sandy Brook
	Wash Brook
(OScand)	Bottle Brook
	Carr Brook
	Burbage Brook
	Burley Brook
	Dunge Brook
	Siney Sitch
	Chaddesden Brook
	Lees Brook
	Dam Brook
	Ferriby Brook
(taut)	R. Ecclesbourne
	Sherbourne Brook
	Highlow/Abney Brook
	Hood Brook
(pre-Eng/OE)	Markeaton/Cutler Brook "Oddebroc" 12-15c.
	Mercaston Brook
(pre-Eng)	Mere Brook "Wyggewellebrok" c. 1270
(OScand)	R. Noe
	Bradwell Brook
	Ladybooth Brook "Tunstydleygh"
	Peakshole Water

MAP 3

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE



Partial List C: TRENT STREAM SYSTEM - NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, ETC.

Note: Stand-alone Beck and Dyke are not annotated as OScand because there are so many of them. As on the Maps, they usually have an OE first element and thus are hybrids.

- (pre Eng)
(OScand)
(OScand)
- R. Trent (<Trisantonæ)
Adlingfleet Drain (Humber)
Back Dyke "Thornbek"
The Beck (Carlton) "Mykelbec 1275,
le Westbec 1340"
- Hagley's Dumble
The Beck (Nottingham)
Beck Dyke "le Bek" 1349
Car Dyke "Kersyk, Kerhilles, Northker"
Car Dyke (Hickerton)/The Wink
Catchwater Drain
Lee Beck
Causeway Dyke
Cocker Beck
R. Devon
R. Smite/"Cokerbek" 1375
Dalby Brook
Moor Dyke
- Stroom Dyke
R. Whipling "Viplin" c. 1140
Winter Beck
Dover Beck
Order Beck "Aldebec ditch" 1682
Oxton Dumble
R. Eau (Lincoln)
Northorpe Beck (Lincoln)
R. Erewash
Blackwell Brook
Cuttail Brook
Nunn Brook
Fairham Brook "Ke(u)worthbroke" 1346
R. The Fleet/Slough Dyke "Holdetrent" 1335
Folly Drain (Humber)
R. Greet/ "Halam Beck"
Edingley Beck
Rundell Dyke
Pingley Dyke
Halloughton Dumble
Westhorpe Dumble "Burrebek" 1594,
"Westorpe Beck"
- R. Idle
Gun's Beck
Bycarrs Dike
R. Maun

SECOND PERSON DEIXIS IN JAPANESE AND POWER SEMANTICS

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Introduction. Selection of an address form by a speaker gives a direct linguistic cue for status relationship with the hearer which, in combination with situational factors, determines the style, development, and subsequent outcome of a conversation. Various second person deictic systems are found in the world's languages from relatively simple to complex kinds such as in Japanese. Taking the second person pronoun as the prototypical instance of address form, this paper will examine the Japanese second person pronouns and identify the general principles which govern the communicative uses of them. Central to the present descriptive framework is the sociolinguistic notion of power which manifests itself in various speaker-hearer relationships and determines the appropriate use of the second person pronouns for mutual address. Reference will be made to the 1977 power semantic study of second person pronominals in Romance and Germanic language by Brown and Gilman to draw insight from their findings for enriching the present description as well as for comparing the cross-linguistic pronominal characteristics from which we may predict possible problems in intercultural communication due to the incorrect assessment of relative power status and the application of address forms.

Development of Romance and Germanic second person pronouns. In a 1977 article "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," Brown and Gilman explained the historical circumstances in which the second person plural pronoun came to acquire a sense of respect in the Romance and Germanic languages and was reinterpreted as the address form for the socially superior. The subsequent development and the uses of the singular deferential pronouns in the second person were explained with clarity, using the notion of power and different aspects of power such as sharing or non-sharing, and the associated notion of solidarity which is based on equal power sharing. Romance and Germanic singular second person pronouns consist of common and deferential or, more currently, formal types.

	COMMON	DEFERENTIAL/Formal
Latin	tu	vos
Italian	tu	Lei (< voi)
Spanish	tu	usted (< vos)
French	tu	vous
German	du	Sie (< ihr)
English	thou	you (< ye)

The uses of these pronouns are determined along the two sociolinguistic dimensions of power: non-reciprocal and reciprocal power. Non-reciprocal power separates the empowered from the unpowered, creating non-equal social relationships, and reciprocal power generates a more or less equal social status by power sharing, which in turn promotes solidarity. The plural deferential pronouns were developed in the domain of non-reciprocal power for addressing the empowered superiors. Social superiors in turn reciprocated the non-deferential common pronouns to their subordinates. Along the dimension of reciprocal power the socially privileged also addressed each other with the deferential pronouns for solidarity or for mere formality. During the course of time, the