

Rosemarie Lühr

Spatial cognition in landscape designations in the area of the Old European Hydronymy

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | Introduction | 3.3 | Semantic field of water designations |
| 2 | Old European Hydronymy | 3.4 | Compounds |
| 3 | Analysis tools | 4 | Analysis |
| 3.1 | Types of knowledge | 5 | Conclusion |
| 3.2 | Landscape designations | 6 | Bibliography |

Abstract: Subject of the investigation are settlement names that refer to waters. These oikonyms are often the oldest. The research area is that of the Ancient European Hydronymy. The Old European hydronyms occur in Central Europe, in the Baltic region, in Southern Scandinavia, in the British Isles, in France, on the Iberian Peninsula and in Italy. The research question is, if the expression of spatial relationships in oikonyms with water words is a universal? It turns out to be also other naming strategies. The theoretical framework is Levinson's (2008) description of spatial cognition. The connection of spatial cognition with landscape terms is new in toponomastics.

Keywords: Ancient European Hydronymy, episodic-spatial knowledge, semantic-conceptual spatial knowledge, ideological knowledge, naming strategies

Schlagwörter: alteuropäische Hydronomie, episodisch-räumliches Wissen, semantisch-konzeptuelles räumliches Wissen, weltanschauliches Wissen, Benennungsstrategien

1 Introduction

The purpose is to clarify the status of spatial cognition with toponyms. Of the different types of toponyms mainly oikonyms or settlement names, if they relate to a special landscape condition, namely to waters, are treated. As *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* says:

“[River names] can bear conditions in very remote ages, and naturally to early stages of language development (lexicon, phonology, morphology, and semantics). [These] names are considered the oldest and most enduring of all surviving place-names in Europe.” (Strandberg 2016)

Rosemarie Lühr, Humboldt University at Berlin, Institute for German language and Linguistics, Unter den Linden 6, D-10099 Berlin, e-mail: luehrros@hu-berlin.de

<https://doi.org/10.1515/lex-2021-0005>

Settlements along rivers and streams often offer the oldest names, too. Thus, the relationship between waters and people is dealt with. Our research question is the following: Is the expression of spatial relationships in oikonyms with water words a universal? If not: where are spatial references, where are they not? That's why the focus is on place names with a meaning transparent to speakers at the time of naming.¹ The area to which the study refers is that of the Old European Hydronymy. The Old European hydronyms occur in Central Europe, in the Baltic region, in Southern Scandinavia, in the British Isles, in France, on the Iberian Peninsula and in Italy. The toponyms to be examined thus come from Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Italic and Romance languages. Of the peoples who speak these languages, the Germanic and Romance speakers have immigrated into large parts of their historical settlements. In these areas, then new names will be made. In the other cases, the Celtic, Baltic languages and the languages of Italy before the Roman expansion, the corresponding speaker communities are already in situ at the beginning of the historical period. The investigation starts with the time of the first documented record of the respective toponym. For our corpus, older toponymic layers, and possibly late oikonyms and field names, are selected if they support interpretations of earlier toponyms. Reliable data bases for the oldest oikonyms do not exist.

At the beginning, some notes on the latest research in the field of ancient European hydronymia. This is necessary because the assumption of an Old European Hydronymy has long been the subject of lively discussions between advocates and opponents. Afterwards an overview of the theoretical framework which we follow is given. It is above all Levinson's description of spatial cognition. The connection of spatial cognition with landscape terms containing words for water follows. This is a new approach in toponomastics.²

2 Old European Hydronymy

The term "Old European" is used by Hans Krahe (1964) for the language of the oldest reconstructed stratum of the European hydronymy in Central and Western Europe. Krahe recognized that the naming of these waters was through the use of words or their derivatives that signified either the water itself or its characteristics, colors, different types of waters, or the manner of flowing. The formation elements used form a suffix system because they similarly recur fairly regularly among the various roots:

¹ In other words: We are looking for the denomination motive of a language creative denominator.

² The so-called "oriented" settlement names (Jochum-Godeglück 1995) are based on a completely different spatial concept.

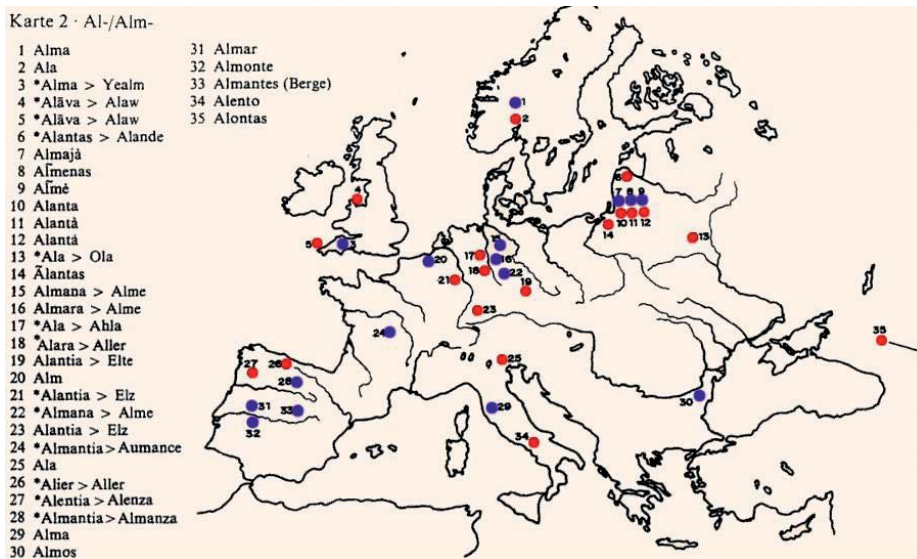


Figure 1: Author: Dageno: Español: Hidrónimos antiguos europeos: Carta para la raíz *al-, *alm (retrieved February 25, 2021, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Old_European_hydronymic_map_for_the_root_*al-,_*alm-_Krahe.jpg)

But the Old European Hyronymy can only be determined as Indo-European, if the word formation types in question are also to be found in the appellative vocabulary of the Indo-European languages; cf.

river name Norwegian *Ausunda* < **h₂áusntā(-n)*- ‘the bright one’; Italian *Ausente* (Proto-Indo-European **h₂us-ént-*, Old Indic *uśánt-* ‘lighting up’); cf. Ancient Greek αὔωσ, Old Indic *uśás-*, Latin *aurōra* ‘dawn’³

Unfortunately, since the time of Krahe the exploration of the associated water names has often been carried out with an unchanged methodology, which is completely outdated by the modern point of view of Indo-European linguistics. An Indo-Europeanist who submitted numerous publications on this unsatisfactory research situation is Harald Bichlmeier. In (2016) he shows, inter alia, based on the river name *Elbe* (Latin *Albis*) (Old Icelandic *elfr* ‘river’, Middle Low German *elve* ‘riverbed’) that the usual interpretation as **alb^h-i/-iā* adjective ‘white’ or noun ‘the white one’ is insufficient because the Indo-European preform **h₂elb^h-* or **h₁/^{*}h₃alb^h-* definitely contains an initial laryngeal. The laryngeal theory states that the Proto-Indo-European language had three phonemes beyond those reconstructed ones. Laryngeals are notated as *h₁ h₂ h₃*. For the river name *Albis*, this means that also other approaches than the connection with a color word are possible. If one segments the underlying

³ Similar names are widespread in Europe, as *Ausa*, *Ausava*, *Ausenna*, *Ausent-*, *Auser*. Krahe (1963: 291) derived them from a ‘water’-lexeme “*aw(e)-” with s-extension and further suffixes.

adjective $*h_2elb^h-o-$ / $*h_1/*h_3alb^h-o-$ as $*h_2el-$ / $*h_1/*h_3al-$ and suffix $-b^ho-$, the reconstructions $*h_1olh_2-b^ho-$ ‘roving about’ or $*h_1ol-b^ho-$ ‘maroon’ $*h_1ol(H)-b^ho-$ ‘marshy, swampy’ arise. But because of the shape of the originally unregulated river just in its lower reaches, which leads through largely flat, low-sloping terrain, or its way through the *Elbsandsteingebirge*, Bichlmeier considers the interpretation “meandering river” for the *Elbe* as the most likely. Thus, this river name is an example of the fact that the hypothesis of a pre-existing Old European Hydronymy can be confirmed with the help of modern Indo-European linguistics.

As far as the language of the Old European Hydronymy is concerned, Bichlmeier (2017: 41f.) offers several scenarios for ranging it in the Indo-European languages of Europe. It is probable that the Old European Hydronymy language is a “reflex” of the precursors of Celtic, Germanic, etc.⁴. But further research is necessary.

3 Analysis tools

3.1 Types of knowledge

Spatial cognition concerns the study of knowledge and beliefs about spatial properties of objects and events in the world. It is a subfield of *cognitive science*. In the cognitive system, proper names and thus also toponyms represent one-place functional terms. They have an *s* argument that relates to the reference situation (world / time / place index), and are inherently unique and definite (Löbner 1985). The speaker or viewer orientates himself in space and is always available as a deictic center, as a reference point. The position of reference objects must therefore always be easily recognizable to him⁵.

Object of spatial cognition research are two types of knowledge:

- a) Episodic-spatial knowledge, the ability to remember experiences, occurrences, and events that happen at a given time in a given place (Tulving 1972)⁶

⁴ Bichlmeier (2015[2016]: 303f.) expects at least two waves of Indo-Germanization: one from which the hydronyms originated and another from which the later testified languages emerged, such as Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Italian. Phonetic features of the language of the Old European Hydronymy include the coincidence of *media* and *media aspirata* in *media*, the coincidence of late Proto-Indo-European $*o$ and $*a$ in $*a$, Kentum characteristics, etc. (Bichlmeier 2017: 43).

⁵ One speaks of topological localization when the self-structure of these objects is disregarded (Levinson 1996).

⁶ Cf. the terms “episode designations” in Nordistics and “event names” in field name research. If the concept of episodic memory is extended to a collective dimension, then such a commemoration refers to events that all participants have experienced together and which they retrieve together (Echterhoff 2004: 75).

- b) Semantic-conceptual spatial knowledge, the ability to store and remember information about the world in which we live, rather than concrete experiences (Knauff 1997: 2 ff.)
- c) Come in addition: ideological knowledge. Ideology is understood here as a system of worldviews, attitudes and values tied to a social group or culture.

On b) α) Designation by subspaces: In typology research one distinguishes between an inner subspace, the marginal and the outer subspace with periphery (Becker 1994, Becker/Carroll 1997). But there is also an intermediate or Between-space. An example is:

R (x, y): *The hut is between the hills*

where x is the referent (the object to be located / *locatum*, via which a statement is made (*hut*), y the *relatum*, the reference object to which the statement is referenced (*hills*) and R the local relation (*between*) (Miller/Johnson-Laird 1976)

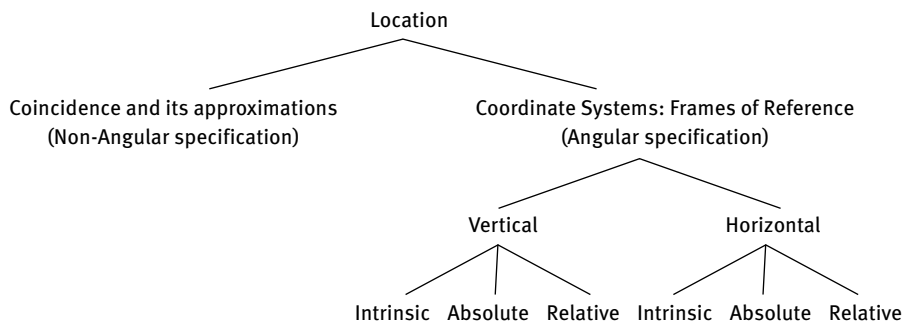
Cf. the following list of means to describe designations of subspaces:

Table 1: Prepositions, adverbs and adjectives for all the designations of subspaces (after Chuang 2010)

Subspace	prepositions	adverbs	adjectives
Indoor space	in; inside; within	inside	inner
Between-space	between		middle
External space	outside	outside	outer
Margin space	by, at		

On b) β) Designation by reference points: Other fundamental distinctions arise from the question of how a place can be located in relation to a reference point, a ground / *relatum*, so that someone finds that place. This approach was modified by Talmy (1983) according to figure (theme or trajector) ground (landmark) relations and applied to languages from five continents for the non-onomastic domain by Levinson/Wilkins (2006). The question is always, “Where is the figure?” the place to be located. The choice of a ground then depends on the extent to which it is permanently available. Levinson (1996; 2003; 2008; Levinson/Wilkins 2006: 515) gives the following scheme, which is adapted here to the spatial relations of toponyms:⁷

⁷ In Levinson’s (2003) toponyms are ranked next to the category topology only under the first locative class, that is, those in which no reference to a coordinate is given. Also the concept of “deixis”, as Levinson understands it (for example, “the place here”) does not appear in toponyms.



Scheme 1: Designations of reference points

Designation after approximation (left branch of the scheme): For toponyms, the deictic center may be (implicitly) identical with the *relatum*, for example, the location is close, this means: close to the viewer, thus signaling a far-near concept (see “Coincidence and its approximations” in the scheme above).

Designation after a coordinate system (right branch of the scheme): Like other static space entities, toponyms can be localized according to a coordinate system with three straight lines, vertical, horizontal, and lateral, each pointing in two opposite directions. This theoretically results in six different coordinate-related subspaces, namely the upper, the lower, the front, the rear, the right and the left subspace. Decisive are the following three frames of reference:

- i) Intrinsic frame of reference
- ii) Relative (or deictic) frame of reference
- iii) Absolute frame of reference

3.2 Landscape designations

First a brief note on water designations in general. Smith/Mark (1999; 2001; 2003) have attempted to relate to the folk theory of landforms, thus developing a naive ontology of landscape. As in their studies revealed, waters represent the most important geospatial concept. Non-expert English speaking subjects listed shape-based landforms in the following order (Smith/Mark 2001: 607):

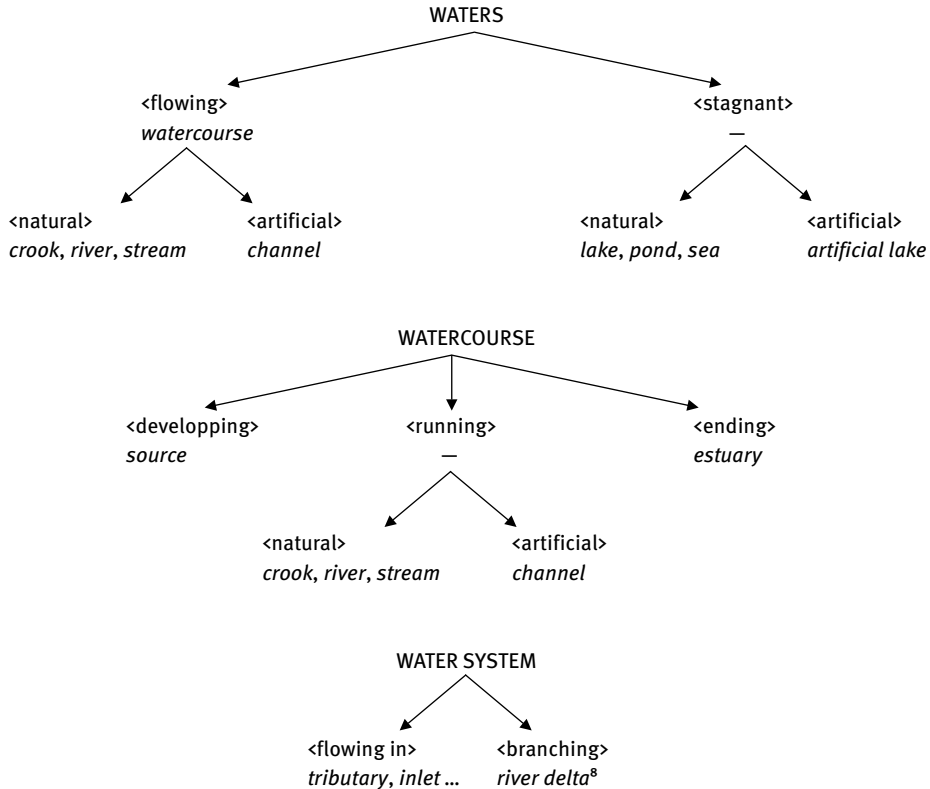
Table 2: Landscapes

Mountain	River	Lake	Ocean	Valley	Hill	Plain
48	35	33	27	21	20	19
Plateau	Desert	Volcano	Island	Forest	Stream	
17	14	10	8	6	6	

Altogether 101 subjects voted for waters, 78 for hill and 40 for plain.

3.3 Semantic field of water designations

The high number of votes for waters does not surprise, because it is due to the numerous different types of waters. Cf. the following Semantic Field:



Scheme 2: Water designations (Susanne Zeilfelder: Deutsche Wortfeldetymologie in europäischem Kontext. Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften)

3.4 Compounds

Before starting the analysis, an overview of word formation is given: The toponyms can be assigned to different compound types. The following records originate from Swiss German online database “ortsnamen.ch”, that we use for comparison purposes:

⁸ According to the U.S. Geological Survey, there is no official difference between hills and mountains. Hills are easier to climb than mountains, they are less steep and not as high, but, like a mountain, a hill will usually have an obvious summit, which is its highest point, etc.

Determinative compound (= D): *Ausserfeld* ‘outer field’; determinative juxtaposition (= DJ): *Inner Allmig* ‘common property located within’; determinative “head-form” (= DH): *Mettlen* < **zi dero mittilôno* [*marcho*]: adjective gen.pl. *mittel* + elliptical appellative *marka* ‘into [the area of the persons living] in the middle’; determinative “bracket-form” (= DB): *Apfelberg* ‘apple mountain, terrain elevation with apple (trees)’; prepositional [complement] compound (= PC): *Amsteg* [Silenen] ‘[village] situated on the bridge [old crossing over the Chärscheler and the Reuss]’, a type of exocentric compound in which the designated entity is not part of the designation (Lühr 2004)⁹. As we will see, the last composition type is by far the most common for oikonyms with water words. It is marked by “PC”. Cf. also Romance documentary 1321 *Flumnes* ‘(location at the) river’ (Chur; Kanton GR, CH) (lat. FLUMEN, Fluss’).

The outline is: Expressions recording semantic-conceptual spatial knowledge come first, then representations of episodic-spatial knowledge follow. Finally, oikonyms where spatial references are of secondary importance are discussed.

4 Analysis

A. Semantic-conceptual spatial knowledge

A.a. Subspace: Between-space

A prepositional (complement) compound is:

Celtic: Latin/Gaulish: 1180–1181 [Latin] (possibly later forgery) *Interlacus*, 1181 *Interlacensis*, [Gaulish] 1228 *Indrellappa*, *Inderlappa*¹⁰, 1577 *In der lappen*, 1891 *Interlaken*, (germanized) *Undersewen*, *Unterseen* ‘(location) between the seas’ (Interlaken, BE, CH) (PC) – Interlaken is located in the Bernese Upperland between Lake Thun and Lake Brienz (Continental Celtic, Gaulish **lapā* < **lakūā*- with **p* < **kū*- as in Gaulish *Epona* < Proto-Celtic **Ekū-onā*; Proto-Indo-European **leg/g-* ‘to trickle’ [EWA V, 876–978; Bichlmeier 2009[2010]: 257–259; 2012: 379–390])

The same concept is encountered in:

Germanic: German: *Unteraa* ‘(location) between the water courses’ (PC) (at the river Reuss) (Farm, Gurtellen, UR, CH) [Old High German *unter* ‘between’; Old High German *aha* ‘water(course), river, stream’, Middle High German *ahe*, Latin *aqua* ‘water (pipe)’] (ortsnamen.ch/)

⁹ Quite a different kind is the Romance word formation, not only concerning the position of the individual elements (Rainer 1993: 246).

¹⁰ 1239 *de Inderlapon*, 1239 *in villa Inderlappen*, 1266 *Hinderlappun*, 1300 *Hinderlappen*.

The appellative *aha* appears only sporadically in dialects today. As designation of medium sized rivers, it appears e. g. in 752 *Fuldaha*. *aha* definitely designates flowing waters.

As for the designations of a margin space, all oikonyms with the intended meaning '(location) at a river, at a sea' would belong here.

Cf. the following prepositional (complement) compound with a designation of a precise location point:

Celtic: (Geograph von Ravenna) *pennelocus* '(station) at the top of Lake Geneva' (PC) (Old Irish *cenn*, Middle Welsh *penn* < Proto-Celtic **k^wenno-* 'head'; nom.sg. **loku-s*, gen.sg. *lakóu-s* < **!k-oū-s* 'lake'; [Old High German *lahha* 'pool, puddle < Proto-Germanic **lakō*)

Coincidentally, those oikonymys are terms after the absolute frame of reference.

They are therefore classified there. Oikonyms referring to waters for the other subspaces, Indoor space and External space, did not occur yet.

B. Designation by reference points

B.a Designation after approximation

A far-near concept can be found in the following oikonym:

Germanic: German: 1544 *an die Ferenbachen*; 1581 *an die Ferenbacheren*; 1611 *obsich an die Ferabacheren* 'distant (location) at the creeks' ('upwards to a distant [estate] near creeks' (DB) (Ferbacheren, secular building, Sattel, SZ, CH) (Swiss German *fer(r)*, Old High German *fer* 'far, far away', Middle High German *verre* 'far away', in names for distant, remote places [ortsnamen.ch]). The oikonym is a determinative "bracket" form.

B.b Designation after a coordinate system

i) Intrinsic frame of reference of the *relatum*: the *relatum* has a spatial structure. For example, a church has a front and back. The description does not change when the entire constellation (figure and ground) is rotated on its own axis; it is independent of orientation (constancy under rotation). For this frame of reference no oikonyms with water words were to be found.¹¹

¹¹ See Lehmanns (2019) example for a location in Erfurt: St. Severi is on the left side (the triangle side) of the cathedral. The intrinsic frame of reference aims at the dimensional structure of the *relatum*, here the cathedral. Oikonyms with an intrinsic frame of reference would be names such as '(location) behind the back of the church (but in front of the viewer's location)'. Cases like Swiss German *Hinter dem Chäppeli* '(location) behind the Chäppeli' (Bärschwil; Kanton SO, CH) are not relevant. For free areas in the vicinity of churches are either used as a cemetery or in the widest sense as agricultural land, which are then usually associated with the vicarage (material preservation of the parish), called

ii) Relative (or deictic) frame of reference: the starting point in the coordinate system, the viewer (origin), the figure, and the ground are each different, with the viewer's system mapped to that of the ground object in a kind of secondary coordinate system. The description is thus based on the intrinsic system of the viewer. He sees himself as a structured object with front and back, top and bottom, right and left side. As the figure and ground constellation rotates about their own axis, the description changes. It is orientation-dependent.

The settlement history shows, that mainly flat, fertile valleys are populated in river valleys. Moors, forests and mountains, on the other hand, are often considered as divisive, hard to cross terrain forms, so that a view 'from our settlement in front of the forest or behind the moor' is understandable; cf. the following Baltic oikonym:

Baltic: Lithuanian 1584 *Uszballen(n)* '(locality) behind the moor' (PC) (Ūžbaliai, Darkehmen, East Prussia) (Užbale, Gołdap, Poland) (Lithuanian *balà* 'moor'; prefix *už-* 'behind' [Pétraitis 1997: 421]). It is a prepositional [complement] compound.

iii) Absolute frame of reference: When referring to an absolute frame of reference, the speaker chooses a fixed point of reference independent of any particular situation, such as cardinal points, landscapes as mountains, rivers. The description is also orientation-dependent here. It changes when the entire constellation is rotated around its own axis. In this frame of reference, the ability to orientate in absolute space is a prerequisite. For example, the viewer needs to know where is upstream and downstream.

In Western populations, this reference type is most prevalent in oikonyms. Therefore, there is a lot of literature, even though often exact reference assignments are missing. Nevertheless, we provide examples to show that the absolute frame of reference is also present among the oldest oikonyms within the area of Old European Hydronymy.

A cardinal point is indicated in:

Germanic: Old High German: 1157–1163 *Westense*, 1157–1163 ... *de Westeses* (Bad Wiessee, Miesbach) 'on the western shore of the (Tegern-) lake (located settlement' (PC) (Old High German *westan* 'westward'; ahd. *sē* [Reitzenstein, Bayer. ON, 30])

In the case of the orientation to the vertical relation with the concepts 'upper' and 'below' the human body is the reference point, namely the head-foot axis. At the same time, however, there is above, where the sky, and below, where the earth is, and thus an absolute frame of reference within the coordinate system is given.

A designation after the head-foot axis is:

Celtic: 1163 *Veronne*, 1201 *castrum de Verona*, 14th c. *prioratus de Verona*, to designate the river Rieusset that flows down from above: '(location) at the Véronne'

Pfarrgründe 'Pastor's Property' or *Pfoargründ* (Fritz Locher von Hüttenbach/Erika Windberger-Heidenkummer orally).

(PC) (Véronne, commune, Département Drôme); river name **u_̥eronā* < Proto-Celtic **u_̥peronā* ‘(river that is) located high’ [Proto-Celtic **u_̥pero-*, **u_̥ero-* ‘located high’, derivation from Proto-Celtic. **u_̥per* > **u_̥er* ‘over, up’ (Gaulish *Ver-*, Celtiberian *ver-* [Nègre 1990: 46; Schaffner 2015: 249])

The river has a height of 87 meters:



Figure 2: Author: Toutaitanous 2: Veronne le haut (retrieved February 25, 2021, from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%89glise_de_Veronne_\(dr%C3%B4me\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%89glise_de_Veronne_(dr%C3%B4me).JPG))

The oikonym is a prepositional (complement) compound, the river name a determinative “head-form”; it shows a specification. Indeed, river names are particularly enlightening if they contain specifying additions: for specifications may allow conclusions not only about topographical features or economic forms, but also on the range of movement of former settlers. For example, more specific hydronyms may indicate that the first denominators had knowledge about other rivers in their environment, from which they wanted to distinguish their river in their place. So to speak, that they must have been “mobile”.

For the oldest river names, however, the specification must be reconstructed. An ancient water word is continued in:

Baltic: Old Prussian 1440 *Kirsappen* ‘(location) at the river (later on a dammed up pond)’ (PC) (Kirschappen, Fischhausen, East Prussia) (Old Prussian *kirsa* ‘above, on’; Old Prussian *ape* ‘river’ [Gerullis 1922: 64; Blažienė 2006: 311])

The oikonym contains the inherited word for ‘water’; cf. Hittite *hapa-* c. ‘river’, Old Indic nom.pl. *ápas* ‘water, stream’, Tocharian *āp-* ‘water, river’, Lithuanian *ùpė*, *upė* ‘river, stream, creek’, Latvian *upe* ‘river, creek’ (with late sound change from **a-* to Proto-East Baltic *u-* [ALEW II, 1156] < Proto-Indo-European **h₂ap-* < **h₂ep-* ‘water’). Special properties of the water are not specified in this word. But obviously it refers to running water.

The Proto-Indo-European root appears also in:

Old European: 1138 (copy 12. c.) *Habensperch*, 1143 *Abensberg* (Roman station name 3th c. [copy 7th/8th c.] ‘(settlement) on the river Abens’ (PC) with *-berg* by reference to the castle, the seat of the lords of the Babons (Abensberg, Kelheim, BY, D); river name 847–863 *Apansa* [derivation of Proto-Celtic **abon-*; nom.sg.f. **abū*, gen. **abons* < **abh₃ens*, acc. **abonam*] (Old Irish *aub*, gen. *abae* ‘river’, Old Cornish *auon*, Middle Welsh, Middle Breton *avon* ‘river’; France Côte d’Or 1174 *Avonna*); Proto-Germanic **bērga-* ‘mountain’ (Reitzenstein, Bayer. ON 7). One of the ways to combine Proto-Celtic **abon-* with the just mentioned Proto-Indo-European **h₂ap-* ‘river’ is the assumption of a derivative with a possessive suffix **h₃on-* whereby laryngeal 3 lenites the preceding voiceless plosive **p* to **b*.¹² In this case the meaning of Proto-Celtic **abon-* would be ‘(river) that carries running water’; cf. High German, Low German *-affa*, *-apa* < Proto-Germanic **apō*, Latvian *Abava* (Hoffmann 1957; Schaffner 2015: 233–237, 244–246)

A second Proto-Indo-European water word is documented in:

Baltic: Old Prussian 1285 *Powunden*, 1397 *Pawonden* (Prussian Holland; today Powodowo, Richliki) ‘(location) nearby the water’ (PC) (Lithuanian *pavandenė* ‘area nearby the water’)

(Old Prussian *po* ‘nearby’; Old Prussian *wundan* ‘water’; Latvian *ūdēns*; Lithuanian *vanduō* ‘water’ [Gerullis 1922: 133]; *n*-stem with ablaut; from a nasal-present Proto-Indo-European **u-n-éd-* in Vedic *unátti*; Proto-Indo-European acrodynamic *r/n*-stem nom.sg. **uod_r* in Hittite *wātar*; Old High German *wazzar*, gen.sg. ***uéd-ŋ-s* → **ued-én-s* in Hittite gen.sg. *wedenas*; cf. Gothic *watins*); Proto-Indo-European **ued-* ‘to swell’ [ALEW II, 1185 f.; LIV 658 f.]

If the underlying verbal root really had the meaning ‘to swell’, the ancient water word could have originally referred to spring water; cf. the derivations Vedic *útsa* ‘well, spring’, Young Avestan *aoda-* ‘well’. The associated Hittite word *utnē* ‘land, country’ also indicates this meaning. The supposed development of meaning from ‘watery, hydrous’ to ‘fertile’ to ‘land’ could have started from ‘rich in wells’; cf. Arme-

¹² Cf. the Old Indic reduplicative verb *pibati* ‘drinks’ < **pi-p₃-eti* from Proto-Indo-European **poh₃-* ‘drink’ (for further explanations cf. Bichlmeier 2009: 197–201).

nian *get* ‘river’ and the derivation, the landscape term *getin* ‘soil, ground’ (NIL 706–715).

While the Old Indo-European words for water seem to represent a more general idea of it, insofar as special meanings have to be deduced, the orientation according to distinctive characteristics of waters is common in the area of Old European Hydronymy.

The watercourse is specified in more detail in:

Celtic: *Cambous*, *Cambon* ‘(location) at the river bend’ (PC) (*Chambon / Cambon*, Loiret FR) (**kambonos*; Proto-Celtic **kambo-* ‘bent, crooked, curved’)

Celtic: 1012–1018 (to 977) *Camma*, ca 1040 *Champa* (Cham, BY, G) (river name 1058 *Kamb*). A few kilometers from the city Cham, a winding brook, called the *Chamb*, flows into the Regen.

A similar concept appears in:

Celtic: 1309 (copy 1385) *in superioi Sinne*, ca. 1319 *in Obernsinn ... in Mettelnsinne* ‘(location) at the upper / middle Sinn’ (PC) (Obersinn, District Main-Spessart, Lower Franconia, G); river name Old High German 780–796 (copy 12th c.) *Sinna*, 1328/29 *Sinne* (copy 14th c.) *Sinne* < Proto-Celtic **sin-n-īā* (**sino-n-*, **sinn-*); Italian *Senio* tributary of the Po, Tabula Peutingeriana *Sinnius* (< **Sinn-ios*). The etymology points to the original meaning ‘the crooked one’;¹³ cf. Irish *Shannon*, Ptolemaeus Σήνου ποταμοῦ (< **sēno-* < **seino-* ‘the crooked, bumpy one’ (‘the one who is provided with bays’)¹⁴ (Latin *sinus*, -ūs ‘bay, bending, curve, fold, bosom, lap, curved or bent surface’ [Schaffner 2015: 237–240]). The term *ober-* ‘upper’ means the location of the settlements and not that of the rivers.¹⁵

The following oikonym belongs to the semantic field ‘swampy terrain’. It is common to Celts, Germanics and Balts:¹⁶

Celtic/Old High German: landscape name 9th c. *pagus Onfelt*, 1217 *Onvelde*, 1418 *Kirchohmfelde* (with assimilation of *-nf-* to *-mf-*), 1545 *warmen Omfelt*, 1596 *Warm-Ohmfeld*, Kirchohmfeld (Eichsfeld, Thuringia) ‘(location) at the Ohmfeld with a church’, a determinative and coincidentally prepositional (complement) compound; landscape name c. 1518 *Kalten Ohmfelde*, 1530 *Kalt Ohmfeld* (on the highest elevation of the Ohm Mountains) (Kaltohmfeld, District of Leinefelde-Orbis, Eichsfeld, G) (Dobenecker, Wintzingeroda-Knorr) (Gaulish gloss *anam* ‘paludem’ [Delamarre 2003: 43f.]; Old Irish *an*, *o-* or *ā-* stem ‘water’ < Proto-Celtic **phano-* or **phanā* ‘something damp, watery’ [EDPC 127]; Proto-Celtic **phanā* ‘(something) wet, watery’, collective formation to Proto-Celtic **pheno-* ‘water, river’: Austrian river name *Enos* ‘Inn’ [Bichlmeier 2009[2010]:

¹³ Another basis form could be Proto Germanic **senp-nō-* ‘meandering (river)’; Proto-Indo-European **sent-* ‘to go’ (Bichlmeier 2009: 83–84; 2015; Reitzenstein, Fränk. ON, 171).

¹⁴ 7th c. gen.sg. *Sinone*, acc.sg. (latinized) *sinonam* < **sinonā* f. < Proto-Celtic acc.sg. **sino-n-am* f.

¹⁵ The Middle High German adjective *ober* ‘upper’ refers to the location of the place and serves to distinguish the Market *Burgsinn* and the parish village *Mittelsinn* in the same administrative district.

¹⁶ Sergio Neri has worked out this etymology.

34 f.); Middle Irish *en* m. *o*-stem ‘water’; river name *Inn* < **enjo*- < **φεν-jo*⁻¹⁷; Middle Irish *enach*, n. *s*-stem ‘swamp’ < **φενā-ko-s* ‘aqueous, moist area’ [EDPC 127])

Kirchhofmied is located on the southwestern edge of the plateau of the *Ohmgebirge* ‘Ohm mountains’. Nearby is the *Ochsensumpf* ‘ox swamp’. It is therefore actually a swampy terrain and the Ohm Mountains are named after it.

Baltic: Old Prussian: 1267 *Panyen*, 1339 *Panyyn*, 1405 *Pangen*, 1422 *Panygen*, 14th c. *Katpanye*; Old Prussian *pannean* ‘mosebruch’ (locality) at the moss brook’ (PC) (Pangessen, Memel, East Prussia) ([Sommerfeld 1971: 144]; Eastern Lithuanian *pania-bùdė* ‘forest mushroom growing in damp places’; Latvian *pane* ‘liquid manure, dung-water’ < Proto-Baltic **pan-ǰā*; peoples’ name Πάννυες, probably *‘inhabitants of a damp area’ < nom.pl.m. *pannōnes*)

Celtic: Germanic: Late Old High German: 1197 *Venirode* ‘(locality) at the swamp’ (PC) (Venrath, Erkelenz) (Old Saxon *feni* ‘swamp’, Gothic *fani* n. ‘mud, πηλός’, Old Icelandic *fen* n., Old English *fen(n)* m./n., Old Saxon *fen(n)i*, Old Frisian *fen(n)e* m., Old High German *fenni* n. ‘swamp, bog, mud’; Proto-Germanic **fanja*-; from this the Romance loan words French *fagne*, *fange*, Italian *fango* ‘mud’; Proto-Indo-European **pón-jo*- ‘watery, wet area’¹⁸)

Quite another concept can be detected in:

Old European: Celtic: *Ammerbuch* ‘(location) at the Ammer’ (PC) (Tübingen, D);¹⁹ river name *Ammer* (near Lustnau, Tübingen city), *Amper* (mouth into the Ammersee) (Proto-Celtic **ambarā* / **ambrā* f. < **ṛb^hr-eh₂*- < **ṛb^hr-eh₂*; German *Emmer*, English *Amber*, French *Ambre*, Italian *Ambria*, *Ambrio* < Proto-Celtic **ambriā*; Proto-Indo-European **neb^h*- ‘to get wet’ [Bichlmeier 2014[2016]; 2018: 9–12])

While the *Ammer* at Tübingen is described as flowing smoothly, the *Ammer* and its upper run (the *Linder*) in the Bavarian Alpine foothills are different. They are wild rivers. They flow from their source in the *Ammergebirge* ‘Ammer Mountains’ into the *Ammersee* near Fischen.²⁰ In this case, the connection with the related words Vedic *nabhanú-*, *nabhaní-* ‘wild water, spring water’ is close (NIL 500).

The name of a noisy rushing water shows up in the oikonym:

Germanic: German: *Diesselbach* ‘(location) at the Diesselbach [‘roaring creek’]’ (PC) (hamlet, Mogelsberg, SG, CH) (Middle High German *diezen* ‘to sound loud, rush’, Old High German *diozan* ‘to rush, roar’ < Proto-Germanic onomatopoeic **Peuta*- [EWA II, 688–690; ortsnamen.ch])

¹⁷ Urkelt. **φeno*- < thematic nominalized adjective Proto-Indoeuropean **pén-o*- ‘damp’ with **φονā*- as abstract collective (EWA 3, 614 f.; Katz 2003, 86 f.).

¹⁸ Casaretto (2004: 133); EWA (3, 152–154); cf. (with ablaut) Old English ae. *fyne* m./n. ‘humidity, morass’ < Proto-Germanic **funja*- < Proto-Indo-European **p^hṛ-jo*-

¹⁹ The name *Ammerbuch* has not grown historically, but is an artificial word, which should refer to the location between Ammertal and Schönbuch.

²⁰ Below the *Ammersee* the *Ammer* becomes the *Amper*, which flows at Moosburg into the Isar.

Similar:

Celtic: c. 1050 *Labare*, 1180 *Labara*, 1186 *Laber*, 1712 *Laaber* ‘(location) at the Laaber’ (PC) (Market, District Regensburg, BY, G); river name ca. 1150 (copy 14th c.) *Labere*, *Schwarze Laaber*, tributary of the Danube (Proto-Celtic **labarā* ‘the talkative, rushing one’; Old Irish *labar* ‘talkative’ < **labaro-*, Welsh *llafar* ‘speech, language, voice’ [García Alonso 2001: 220; Schaffner 2015: 248; Reitzenstein, Bayer. ON 148])²¹

The opposite concept is expressed in:

Germanic: Middle High German: ca 1144 *Tumbach*, 1181 ... in *Dumbac* ... in *superiori Dumbac* (PK) ‘(location at the) silent creek’ (PC) (Kirchenthumbach, Neustadt at Waldnaab, Upper Palatinate, G) – the differentiation *superiori* refers to the location of the river upstream of today’s hamlet *Stegthumbach* (Middle High German *tumb* ‘silent’ [Reitzenstein, Bayer. ON, 137]) The Tumbach is today a fishing ground for fish species such as eel, carp, perch, zander. The carp prefers quiet and spacious waters, slowly flowing rivers or streams. Also zander or perch usually stay in the quiet sections of rivers.

Oikonyms with water terms also provide insights for phylogeography. Thus, plant names appear in oikonyms with water words:

Celtic: Darwen ‘(location on a river) where oak trees grow’ (PC) (Darwen, Lancashire, GB) (**deruentiū*, *deruentiōn-*; **deruent-* ‘oak’, -nt-extension of **deruo-* ‘oak’). The River Darwen is running through the town Darwen; cf. 1217 *Derventum* (Drevant, Cher, Fr) ‘(location), where oak trees grow’ (Mills 1991; Schaffner 2015: 249 f.)

Celtic: 1217 *fons Alsonae* ‘(location) where alders grow’ (PC) (Alzonne, Aude, Fr) (**alsionā*; Proto-Celtic **alisā* ‘alder’ + suffix -onā; cf. Old High German *elira* < Proto-Germanic **alis/zō* ‘alder’; **h₁alis-ah₂* ‘white tree’ or **h₁elis-ah₂* ‘red tree’)

Celtic: *Leven* ‘(localization) at the elm river’ (Celtic **limonā*; Gaulish **limo-*, **lemo-*, Proto-Celtic **limo-* ‘elm’, for example in people’s name Gaulish *Lemo-vices*, Limoges); village in the Scottish Council Area Fife. In Leven the river *Leven* flows into the Firth of Forth.

There are also water names with words for animals living at the water:

Celtic: Gaulish-Latin *Bebriacum* locus castorum (Tac. hist. 2, 23 *Bedriacum*; Iuv. 2,106 *Bebriacum*), *Bibracte* ‘(location) at a water where beavers are living’ (PC) (Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray, Saône-et-Loire, Fr) (Proto-Celtic **bebru-* ‘beaver’ + suffix **akti-* [Lambert 1994: 84]; Old Irish PN *Bibar*; Old Breton *beuer* gl. castor (?) or from vulgar Latin *biber*; see Old French *bievre*; Old Spanish *befre*)

Germanic: Old High German 762 *Biberussa* (copy 17. c.), 1251 *de Bubrusche* (Biberist, SO, CH) (Old High German *bibar* + suffix -ussa; Latin *fiber*; Old Saxon *biβar*, Old English *beofer*, Old Norse *bjórr*; Old Lithuanian *bebrūs* ‘beaver’ < Proto-Indo-European **b^heb^hru-* [EDPG 56 f.; EWA II, 6–8])

21 Cf. further Bichlmeier (2016a: 8), but Proto-Indo-European root **leh₂p-* ‘to shine, be bright’.

Germanic: Old High German: 715 *Bibaraha* (Biberach, District of Heilbronn, BY, D)

Old Low German: 786 *Biuerna*

Celtic: *Teissonière* (hamlet, La Motte-Servolex, Savoie, FR) '(location) at the badger river' (**taχsonā*; Proto-Celtic **taχson-* 'badger', maybe borrowed in Middle Latin *taxō-*, *-ōnis* > French *tassisson*, Italian *tasso*, Spanish *tejon* [Gros 1935: 464; Schaffner 2015: 251])

In addition to the designation of water features, there are categories that are formed according to their "affordance character" or according to the restrictions they impose on human activities.

Rivers are useful to humans if they are rich in fish:

Celtic: ca. 1309 (copy 1358) ... *iuxta nouam citiuitatem apud Eisch* 'settlement at the fish-rich (river)' (DC) (Neustadt a. d. Aisch, District Neustadt an der Aisch-Bad Windsheim, Middle Franconia, D); river name 9th c. (copy 12th c.) *Eisga*, *Eisge* 'the fish-rich one' (Welsh river name *Wysg* < Proto-Celtic **fēskā* < *V̥ddhi* formation **peīkskā*; cf. Latin *piscis* 'fish'; Old High German *fisc* [however Reitzenstein, Fränk. ON 20, 160; Greule, Deutsches Gewässernamenbuch 28: "gm. **Aiskō* 'die Helle, Klare'"])

A river invites you to be crossed: Often there are oikonyms with a word for 'bridge' or 'ford':

Celtic: Σαμαρόβριγα/*Samaróbriga* (Itin. Ant 379, 9 f.; 380,1): *Samarabriva Samarobriva* '(location) on the bridge on the Somme'²² (Celtic *Samara* 'Somme'; Celtic *briva* 'bridge')²³

Celtic: Germanic: Old English: c. 745 Grontabricc, *Grantebrycge* '(location) at the bridge on the River *Granta*' (PC) (a Celtic river name, of obscure origin) (Cambridge, GB). The change to Cante- and later Cam- was due to Norman influence. The river name Cam 'the crooked one' is a back-formation. One of the two tributaries of the River Cam still bears the name *Granta*.

Celtic: Camboritum '(place) located near the ford at the bend of the river' (PC) (Chambord, Department Loir-et-Cher, FR) (Proto-Celtic **kambo-* 'crooked, twisted'; Proto-Celtic **ritum* 'ford').²⁴

A watercourse with a natural bed of water is probably laid out in its course or channel-like expanded:

Celtic: Gaulish: 1219 *Byey*, 1241 *Biez dessous Chastoillon*, 1417 *Bye*, 1520 *Biy* '(location nearby a) channel' (PC) (Bief, Doubs, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, F) (French *bief* 'channel' < Proto-Celtic **bedo-* 'ditch, channel', Middle Welsh *bedd*, Pl. *beddau*,

²² No evidence of a preceding Celtic settlement has been found.

²³ The Ambians settled on the *Samara*. Their capital, *Samarabriva* (Ptolemy II 9, 4), is later called *Ambiani* (Amiens) (Itin. Ant. 362. Ammian. Marc. XV 11, 10) (Amiens, Department Somme, region Hauts-de-France, FR) (Latin *Ambianum* from [*ad*] *Ambiānōs* 'with the Ambians').

²⁴ The village lies on the left bank of the Cosson River, east of Blois.

beddi, Middle Breton *bez*, Korn. *beth* ‘grave’; Proto-Indo-European **b^hed^h*- ‘to dig’ [LIV 66; EDPC 59 f.; Nègre 1959: 130 f.]

The following oikonym comes from agriculture:

Germanic: Old High German: 1062–1066 *Ohsnofurt*. 833 (839) *Ohsonsofurt* ‘ford of the oxen’ (Small) *Ochsenfurt* south of Würzburg’ (G)

Germanic: Old English: 912 *Oxnaford*, ca. 1000 *Oxenaford* (Oxford, Oxfordshire, GB)

The name is of interest because it has an ancient genitive plural; cf. Gothic gen.pl. *aushne* (Wagner 2008: 167–169).

From their environment people gain energy, hydropower:

Celtic: Brythonic-Latin: 30 BC–AD 640 *Braboniacum*, *Brauniacum* (copy), *Bravniacum*, *Bravoniacum* [Britannia Romana 410] ‘(camp near a river) with a mill’ (PC) (Kirkby Thore, Eden, Cumbria, GB). The village is on the site of the Roman cavalry camp. Nearby flows the river Eden (Old Irish *brao*, *bra*; Middle Welsh *breuan*; Middle Bretonic *breo*; Old Cornic *brou* gl. *mola* < Proto-Celtic **brauon*- ‘quem, millstone’ < Proto-Indo-European **g^wréh₂(u)on-*, **g^wrĥ₂(u)nés-*; Old Indic *grāvan-*; Gothic *-qaimus*; Lithuanian *gīmos*; aksl. *žbmy*) [Sims-Williams 2006: 49; EDPC 75]

Germanic: Old Saxon: 1276 *Cornethe* ‘(location) with a water mill’ (PC) (Köhren bei Harpstedt, Oldenburg) (Old Saxon *quern* ‘mill’; suffix *-ithi-* [Udolph 1991: 105]). Via Harpstedt runs the river Delme.

Such oikonoms show a pragmatic approach of humans with their environment. So far, oikonoms with words for water features and affordances in dealing with waters have been discussed, widespread oikonoms in the area of Old European Hydronymy, which constantly re-emerge.

B. Episodic-spatial knowledge

Episodic-spatial knowledge comes into play in the worship of the gods on waters. In the analysis, the Celtic suffix *-ona* is decisive.²⁵ Names of goddesses formed with this suffix are Gaulish *Eponā* ‘Goddess of the horses’ (Gaulish *epo-* ‘horse’), Gaulish *Nemetonā* ‘Goddess of the sacred groves’ (Gaulish *nemeton* ‘holy grove’), *Damonā* ‘Goddess of the deer’ (**damo-*; cf. Old Irish *dam* ‘deer, ox’). Thus, Delamarre (2012: 313–315) would like to explain almost all of the nouns on the suffix *-on-* or *-onā* as derivatives of Celtic deity names. However, as Schaffner (2015: 252–254) shows, of the 60 detheonymic Old Celtic place names in *-on-* or *-onā*, which Delamarre postulated, only fifteen cases testify a deity name as a possible derivation basis. In his opinion, only the following river name belongs to the formation type *Eponā*, namely the name for the Marne:

²⁵ This suffix appears also in **taḡsonā* or **limonā*.

Celtic: *Matrona* ‘The great mother goddess’ (Middle Welsh *Modron*), *Marne* (Départements

Haute-Marne, Marne, Seine-et-Marne and Val-de-Marne)²⁶

After Caesar, this river formed together with the underflow of the Seine the border between the proper Gaul and the settlement area of the Belgians. The worship of a goddess of the same name is testified in a dedicatory inscription, which was found in 1831 in the headwaters of the Marne, not far from the city of Langres (Maier 1994: 227–228). It is to be assumed that *Matrona* was worshiped in this place.

Another goddess name is the Gaulish name of the Seine, *Sequana*. The name of the river is based on an eponymous goddess named *Sequana*, whose worship is evident from numerous archaeological finds from pre-Roman and Roman times as well as from several inscriptions (Maier 1994: 289).



Figure 3: Author: Adrian Michael: Sequana statue at the source of the Seine in Source-Seine (French commune Département Côte-d’Or in the region Bourgogne-Franche-Comté) (retrieved February 25, 2021, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sequana_D%C3%A9sse.jpg)

²⁶ The Marne flows at Charenton-le-Pont, just southeast of Paris, as a right tributary into the Seine.

According to Lacroix (2007) waters have constituted for the Gaulish peoples a privileged support of religion. They were sacralized more than any other element of the nature and engendered more devotions than terrestrial entities. Indeed, the whole point may be that in the prehistoric period, when the waters were named, one can confidently count on a type of sacral status of natural phenomena, even if this is not more than 1000 years later indicated by a Roman inscription. Also in Celtiberia such sacrifices must have been practiced, but little can be said about them in detail.²⁷

In addition to the spatial dimension, worship also has a temporal dimension. Thus, place names can also refer to episodic-spatial knowledge.

C. Ideological knowledge

While the goddesses *Matrona* and *Sequana* can be allocated to veneration sites near the eponymous rivers as a result of archaeological finds, the following place names originating from Celtiberian behave differently. The Celtiberians inhabiting the central-eastern Iberian Peninsula during the final centuries BC were explicitly mentioned as being Celts by several classic authors (e. g. Strabo). Cf. the following map:

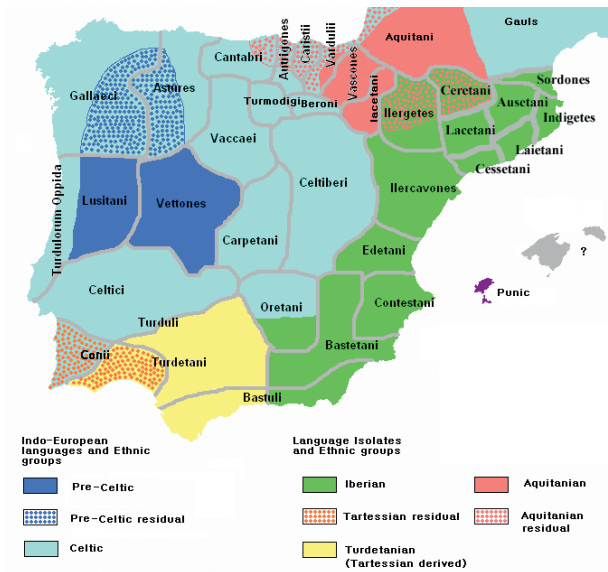


Figure 4: Author: Luís Fraga: Ethnology of the Iberian Peninsula c. 200 BC (retrieved February 25, 2021, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ethnographic_Iberia_200_BCE.PNG)

²⁷ As Frontinus (*Strateg.* III, 11, 4) relates, Viriatus took the people from *Segobriga* by surprise while they were occupied celebrating sacrifices (Sopeña 2005: 359).

It is noteworthy that in Spain some of the most characteristic series of place names known from other Celtic areas of Ancient Europe are almost completely lacking, namely *lānum*, *magos*, *dūnom* (Luján 2013: 104). But one finds place names on *-briga* ‘hill’. They contain designations for abstract concepts like power, strong, force:

Nertobrig(a) 2x, Celtic *Nerto-* ‘force, strength’ in Celtiberia (El Cabezo Chinchón near La Almunia de Doña Godina, 45 km to the south-west of Zaragoza) and in the southern Celtici-area (Baetica) (= Valera la Vieja, in the Spanish province Badajoz, 3 km to the east of Fregenal de la Sierra)

Segobrig(a) 2x, Celtic *Sego-* ‘superiority, strength’, only 1 of the 2 is identified (ruins on the Cabeza del Griego near Saelices, 20 km to the south-east of Tarancón in the Spanish province Cuenca)²⁸

Such names appear also uncompounded:

Segontia 5x in Celtiberia, (1) *Segontia Lanca* (not safely located, at the Duero, south or west of Numantia); (2) *Segontia* (Sigüenza at the Henares river in the Spanish province Guadalajara; the modern name continues the ancient one; remains of a pre-Roman settlement were found on the Cerro de Villas Viejas (a hill), 3 km from the modern town. The modern town probably continues the Roman settlement to which the inhabitants were moved);²⁹ (3) *Segontia* between Epila at the river Jalón and Zaragoza, possible in the Dehesa de Ganaderos, 15 km to the west of Zaragoza; (4) *Segontia Paramica*: exact location unclear (Spanish province Palencia or Valladolid); (5) a further *Segontia Paramica*: exact location unclear (Spanish province Álava); cf. *Caer Seiont* (*Segontium*) in Wales and the peoples’ name *Segontiaci* in Britain, the inhabitants’ name *Segontilienses* in the Gallia Narbonensis and another *Segontiliensis* in the Iberian Peninsula (not localized, [known from the Is. CIL 13, 8093 Bonn] *Rectugenus Magilonis* f[i]lius] *Segontilienses* [sic] *eques ala Longiniana*)

Segovia 3x, in Celtiberia, in the south and in Portalegre in the West, (1) *Segovia* (modern *Segovia* in the Spanish province named *Segovia*); (2) *Segovia*: in the south, i. e. in the Roman province *Baetica*, not exactly localized; (3) *Segovia* in Portalegre (the hill *Segóvia* at the river Caia, 12 km to the north of Elvas)

Segisamunculum (Cerezo del Rio Tirón, Burgos, Castilla y León, España), Celtiberian with Latin suffix *-culo-*

Segisama 2x, in Celtiberia (with Celtic superlative suffix *-isama*), (1) *Segisama Brasaca* (not exactly localized, probably in the west of Celtiberia); (2) *Segisama Iulia* (not exactly localized)

²⁸ Traces of settlement apparently do not go beyond the middle of the 1st century BC. In addition, it is possible that the Romans founded this *Segobriga* and may have relocated Celtic populations from another place here – from the non-localized other *Segobriga* in Celtiberia (Wodtko orally).

²⁹ The idea is that the pre-Roman Celtiberian city lays on a hill. The Romans, however, brought the Celts down from the hill, and settled in the river valley, as they were easier to control. Such “transfers” of settlements from fortified positions into a plane, etc. are more common (Wodtko orally).

Segisamo (modern *Sasasmón*, 50 km to the north-west of Burgos in the Spanish province Burgos)

The simplicia suggest that the focus is on communicating ideological concepts rather than localization. As Dagmar Wodtke says, especially *Segisama* is a good example of the fact that the dream of superiority is decisive for the designation. *Seg-* also appears in personal names such as *Segilus* (only as masculine personal name) and in the tribe's name *Segusiavi*, a Celtic tribe with three *oppida* (*Essalois*, *Crêt-Chatelard*, *Jœuvre*) which controlled the *Liger* (*Loire*). The root of *Segusiavi* could designate a race of dogs of Celtic origin (Schwab 2017: 357; Dottin 1920: 285), as the Greek author Flavius Arrianus, the so-called “Younger Xenophon”, described this dog type (*Canis segusius*) in the 2nd century AD in his book *Kynegetikos*;³⁰ cf. in the Germanic rights Pactus Legis Salicae Tit. VI, 1 *canis segusius magister* and the loan words Old High German *sius(i)o*, *siusi*. But also the idea of victory, of strength, or of inaccessible place (Belloguet 1872: 384) can be behind all these designations. In any case, the popularity in the place name denomination with **Sego-* has a pattern that goes beyond Continental Celtic; *segont-* appears also in Britain.

Thus, in compounds like *Segobriga* the focus is on the first constituent and not on the second constituent *brig(a)* ‘hill’. Together with *Nerto-*, here arises the idea of “force” names.

Other ideological concepts appear in the oikonyms *Contrebia* ‘Living together’ 3x and in *Veniaka* ‘kindness’ 1x:

Contrebia Belaisca, Spanish province *Zaragossa* (ruins on the Cabezo de las Minas near Botorrita, 20 km to the south-west of Zaragoza); *Contrebia Carbica*, Spanish province *Cuenca* (= ruins of Foos de Bayona, near Villasviejas, 50 km to the south-west of the city Cuenca (in the province Cuenca)); *Contrebia Leucade*, Spanish region *La Rioja* (ruins near Inestrillas)

Veniaka ‘kindness’, the Celtiberian place is not localized; but cf. the inhabitant name *vicani Venienses* (epigraphically, near Meimoa in the Portuguese province Castelo Branco)

Both oikonyms express ideals on a social level; for *Veniaka* cf. the personal name Gaulish *Veni-carus*, the ethnonym *Ven-eti* (Vanne) (Old High German *wini* ‘friend’).

Also religious concepts are encoded with compounds on *-briga*:

Deobriga 2x, (1) *Deobriga* (Arce Mirapérez, 4 km to the east of Miranda de Ebro, province Burgos, at the estuary of the river Zadorra into the Ebro); (2) *Deobriga*: exact location unknown, probably in the modern province Salamanca or Cáceres

Nemetobriga 2x in the West, (1) *Nemetobriga* in Galicien (Santa María de Trives or alternatively Trives Vieja near La Puebla de Trives, 50 km to the east of Ourense);

³⁰ The *Segusiani* settled on the slopes of the Cottian Alps in today's départements Rhone and Loire, so to Lyon (*Lugdunum*).

(2) Nemetobriga ebenfalls in Galicien exact location unknown, probably near Xinzo de Limia (province Ourense)

Religious concepts also play a major role in Romance and Germanic place names; cf. oikonyms like *Santiago*, *Santa Fe*, *Saint-Germain-Source-Seine* or *St. Gallen*. In these names no terms for ‘church, monastery’ are expressed.

Maybe the Gaulish-Latin name *Boudobriga* (Boppard) ‘hill of victory’ (D) also belongs in this context (Proto-Celtic **bou̯di-* ‘victory’, Old Irish *búaid* ‘win, gain’, Middle Welsh *budd* ‘gain, benefit’). In this case, the name should have been understood as ‘there may always be a victory’.³¹

After all, such place names are examples for alternatives to a predominant spatial denomination strategy. They reflect a system of ratings and assessments of a social group.

5 Conclusion

After examining the etymology of mainly older oikonyms in the area of the Old European Hydronymy an answer to the questions asked at the beginning can be given: the expression of spatial relationships in oikonyms with water words is no universal. The ideologically determined oikonyms in Celtiberian speak against it. Other naming motifs also emerge in the Irish Dindsenchas.³² A proof of the non-universal character of the spatial designation of landscapes is also provided by Levinson (2008). His study of landscape designations in Yéli Dnye, the language of Rossel Island, a so-called Papuan (i. e. non-Austronesian) language in Papua New Guinea, shows that notions like ‘mountain’, ‘river’, ‘cliff’, ‘valley’, etc., which have been thought to be good candidates for universal concepts (Smith/Mark 2001), do not have direct counterparts. Common are rather designations after affordances and cultural beliefs.

However, because of the predominantly ideological designations of oikonyms in Celtiberia, a comment on the connection with the diffusion of the old European hydronymes is appropriate. While these names occur frequently in the Baltic area,

³¹ There are no testimonies for a victorious battle of the Gauls.

³² The denomination strategy of the Dindsenchas in the three versions (9th to 12th c.) is completely different. It is a collection of legends that served to explain place names. Though the word is composed of *dind* ‘hill’ and *senchas* ‘handed down knowledge’, it does not only refer to the elevations designated by *dind*, but also to any place from which a story has been passed down. However, the etymology of many place names is highly unlikely for linguistic or factual reasons. The legends quoted are only partly based on local oral tradition and in many cases depend on medieval scholarly speculation (Maier 1994: 98 f.). The transparent field name *Áth Froích* ‘ford of the heather’ is an example. The name is explained by the death of a man named ‘Heather’ in this ford. The “reason” of the *Dindshenchas* lies in the fact that at each ford some uninteresting plant grows and therefore no naming motive results from it. For the place to get a name, something more must happen.

possibly due to the favorable documentary situation, they capture Galicia in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula. An example with the already mentioned word for ‘alder’ is *Alesancia*, a tributary of the Eo, whose estuary forms the boundary between the regions of Galicia and Asturias:

a. 775 *Alesancia* ‘(river) with alders’ (tributary of the Eo, Cantábrico, LU); a. 371 *Alisontia* (Ausonius, Mosella), 8., 9., 10. Jh. *Alsantia*, *Alsentia*, *Alsuntia* (Luxemburg) (derivation from **alisā* < **h_{1/3}alisah₂* ‘white tree’ or **h₁elisah₂* ‘red tree’ (Middle Low Dutch *else*, Old High German *elira* ‘alder’ [Schaffner 2001: 384; Bichlmeier 2009[2011]: 191–193]) with river name suffix **-antjā*; cf. *Aguence*, *Aguianca* (tributary of the Miño, the longest river in Galicia, sharing the border with Portugal) (**ak^w-antjā*; Latin *aqua* [Moralejo 2005: 843–846])

As mentioned, however, the Celtiberians were inhabitants of the central-eastern Iberian region. The denomination system according to the Old European Hydronymy with its analogical dissemination and further development of dehydronymic derivations especially with *a*-vocalism, a spread that may be motivated by the sacred nature of rivers (Búa 2009; cf. Wodtko 2011: 215–218) apparently did not reach the speakers there. Perhaps also the widespread denomination of oikonyms according to spatial knowledge in the Hydronymy area has not arrived with them. In any case, the Celtiberians have instead favored a denomination system based on ideological knowledge. Landscape designations did not seem to matter.

6 Bibliography

- ALEW = Hock, Wolfgang, et al. (2015): *Altltauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1:2. Hamburg: Baar-Verlag.
- Becker, Angelika (1994): *Lokalisierungsdrücke im Sprachvergleich. Eine lexikalisch-semantische Analyse von Lokalisierungsdrücken im Deutschen, Englischen, Französischen und Türkischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Becker, Angelika/Carroll, Mary (1997): *The acquisition of spatial relations in a second language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Belloquet, Dominique Roget de (1872): *Ethnogénie gauloise*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2009[2010]): Arelape, Tergolape, Interlaken. Ein Beitrag zur keltischen Fluss- und Ortsnamenschicht im Alpenraum. In: *Zeitschrift für historische Sprachforschung* 122, 254–267.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2009a[2010a]): Bairisch-österreichische Orts- und Gewässernamen aus indogermanistischer Sicht. In: *Blätter für oberdeutsche Namenforschung* 46, 3–63.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2009[2011]): Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Indogermanistik und voreinzelsprachlicher resp. alteuropäischer Namenkunde mit einigen Fallbeispielen (Moderne Indogermanistik vs. traditionelle Namenkunde, Teil 1). In: *Namenkundliche Informationen* 95/96, 173–208.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2012): Anmerkungen zum terminologischen Problem der ‘alteuropäischen Hydronymie’ samt indogermanistischen Ergänzungen zum Namen der Elbe. In: *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, NF 47:4, 365–395.

- Bichlmeier, H. (2014/2016): Ammerbach und etymologisch Verwandtes. In: *Österreichische Namenforschung* 42, 22–34.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2015): Neue etymologische Vorschläge zu zwei Flussnamensippen der 'Alteuropäischen Hydronymie'. Elbe und Sinn, Shannon, San/Sjan, in: Krisch, Thomas/Niederreiter, Stefan (eds., unter redaktioneller Mitwirkung von Michael Crombach): *Diachronie und Sprachvergleich. Beiträge aus der Arbeitsgruppe „historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft“ bei der 40. Österreichischen Linguistiktagung 2013 in Salzburg*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, Bereich Sprachwissenschaft, 91–101.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2015[2016]): Ein neuer Blick auf die ältesten Orts- und Gewässernamen in (Mittel-)Europa. In: *Namenkundliche Informationen* 105/106, 299–331.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2016): Zur Widerspiegelung naturräumlicher Gegebenheiten in ‚alteuropäischen‘ Hydronymen – Neubewertungen althergebrachter Etymologien (Moderne Indogermanistik vs. traditionelle Namenkunde, Teil 5). In: Hough, Carole/Izdebska, Daria (eds.): *Names and their Environment. Proceedings of the XXV. International Conference of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 25–29 August 2014*. Vol. 1: *Keynote Lectures. Toponomastics I*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 80–92.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2016a): Zur Etymologie des Flussnamens Laaber. In: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 63, 1–12.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2017): Was kann man an lexikalischen und morphologischen Elementen aus dem Namenschatz der sogenannten ‚alteuropäischen Hydronymie‘ gewinnen? – Ein Zwischenbericht. In: Sandgaard Hansen, et al. (eds.): *Etymology and the European lexicon. Proceedings of the 14th Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17–22 September 2012, Copenhagen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 37–52.
- Bichlmeier, Harald (2018): Eine Präzisierung zur Etymologie der Namen der Ammer und der Amper. In: *Blätter für oberdeutsche Namenforschung* 55, 9–14.
- Blažienė, Grāsilda (2006): Zu den altpreussischen dehydronymischen Oikonymen. In: *Indogermanische Forschungen* 111, 305–319.
- Búa, Carlos (2009) Teonimia e hidronimia. In: Kremer, Dieter (ed.): *Onomástica galega II: onimia e onomástica prerromana e a situación lingüística do noroeste peninsular; actas do segundo Coloquio de Leipzig, 17 e 18 de outubro de 2008*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 91–155.
- Casaretto, Antje (2004): *Nominale Wortbildung der gotischen Sprache. Die Derivation der Substantive*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Chuang, Shih-Yu (2010): *Sprache und Sprachverwendung am Beispiel der Raumreferenz. Eine vergleichende Studie zwischen dem Chinesischen und dem Deutschen*. Phil. Diss. Mannheim.
- Delamarre, Xavier (2003): *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*. Paris: Éditions Errance.
- Delamarre, Xavier (2012): *Noms de lieux celtiques de l'Europe ancienne (-500/+500)*. Arles: Éditions Errance.
- Dottin, Georges (1920): *La langue gauloise. Grammaire, textes et glossaire*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Echterhoff, Gerald (2004): Das Außen des Erinnerns. Was vermittelt individuelles und kollektives Gedächtnis? In: Erll, Astrid/Nünning, Ansgar (eds.): *Medien des kollektiven Gedächtnisses. Konstruktivität, Historizität, Kulturspezifität*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 61–82.
- EDPC = Matasović, Ranko (2009): *Etymological dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- EDPG = Kroonen, Guus (2013): *Etymological dictionary of Proto-German*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- EWA = Lloyd, Albert L./Lühr, Rosemarie (1988–2017) (eds.): *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*. Vol. 1–6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- García Alonso, Juan Luis (2001): The place names of ancient Hispania and its linguistic layers. In: *Studia Celtica* 35, 213–244.

- Gerullis, Georg (1922): *Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen*. Berlin/Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger.
- Greule, Albrecht (2014): *Deutsches Gewässernamenbuch. Etymologie der Gewässernamen und der zugehörigen Gebiets-, Siedlungs- und Flurnamen*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.
- Gros, Adolphe (1935): *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieu de la Savoie*. Belley: Aimé Chaduc.
- Hoffmann, Karl (1957): Ein *grundsprachliches Possessivsuffix*. In: *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 6, 35–40.
- Jochum-Godglück, Christa (1995): *Die orientierten Siedlungsnamen auf -heim, -hausen, -hofen und -dorf im frühdeutschen Sprachraum und ihr Verhältnis zur fränkischen Fiskalorganisation*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Katz, Hartmut (2003): *Studien zu den älteren indoiranischen Lehnwörtern in den uralischen Sprachen*. Aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von Widmer, Paul/Widmer, Anna/Klumpp, Gersson. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Knauff, Markus (1997): *Räumliches Wissen und Gedächtnis*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag.
- Krahe, Hans (1963): *Die Struktur der alteuropäischen Hydronomie*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Krahe, Hans (1964): *Unsere ältesten Flußnamen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lacroix, Jacques (2007): *Les noms d'origine Gauloise. La Gaule des dieux*. Paris: Éditions Errance.
- Lambert, Pierre Yve (1994): *La langue gauloise*. Paris: Éditions Errance.
- Lehmann, Christian (2017): *Kognitive und sprachliche Unterschiede in der Raumorientierung* (http://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/lg_system/sem/raumorientierung_2.html). (Last access: 8.2.2019)
- Levinson, Stephen C. (1996): Frames of reference and Molyneux's question. Crosslinguistic evidence. In: Bloom, Paul, et al. (eds.): *Language and space*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 109–169.
- Levinson, Stephen C. (2003): *Space in language and cognition. Explorations in cognitive diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. (2008): Landscape, seascape and the ontology of places on Rossel Island, Papua New Guinea. In: *Language Sciences* 30, 256–290.
- Levinson, Stephen C./Wilkins, David P. (2006): Towards a semantic typology of spatial description. In: Levinson, Stephen C./Wilkins, David P. (eds.): *Grammars of space. Explorations in cognitive diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 512–552.
- LIV = Rix, Helmut, et al. (2001): *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Löbner, Sebastian (1985): Definites. In: *Journal of Semantics* 4, 279–326.
- Lühr, Rosemarie (2004): Lehnwörter im Althochdeutschen. In: *Incontri linguistici* 27, 107–120.
- Luján, Eugenio (2013): Celtic and Celtiberian in the Iberian peninsula. In: Blasco, Eduardo, et al. (eds.): *Iberia e Sardegna. Legami linguistici, archeologici e genetici dal Mesolitico all'Età del Bronzo*. Firenze: Le Monnier, 97–112.
- Maier, Bernhard (1994): *Lexikon der keltischen Religion und Kultur*. Stuttgart: Kröner.
- Miller, George A./Johnson-Laird, Philipp N. (1976): *Language and perception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mills, Anthony David (1991). *A dictionary of English place-names*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moralejo, Juan José (2005): Hidrónimos galaicos con sufijo *-antia*. In: *Acta Paleohispanica IX. Paleohispanica* 5, 837–860.
- Nègre, Ernest (1959): *Toponymie du Canton de Rabastens (Tarn)*. Paris: Ed. d'Artrey.
- Nègre, Ernest (1990): *Toponymie générale de la France. 1: Formations préceltiques, celtiques, romanes*. Genève: Librairie Droz.
- NIL = Wodtko, Dagmar S./Irslinger, Britta/Schneider, Carolin: *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Winter.

- ortsnamen.ch: <https://www.ortsnamen.ch/>.
- Pėteraitis, Vilius (1997): *Mažosios Lietuvos ir Tvankstos vietovardžiai. Jų kilmė ir reikšmė*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas.
- Rainer, Franz: (1993): *Spanische Wortbildungslehre*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Reitzenstein, Wolf-Armin von (2006): *Lexikon bayerischer Ortsnamen*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Reitzenstein, Wolf-Armin von (2009): *Lexikon fränkischer Ortsnamen. Herkunft und Bedeutung. Oberfranken, Mittelfranken, Unterfranken*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Schaffner, Stefan (2001): *Das Vernersche Gesetz und der innerparadigmatische grammatische Wechsel des Urgermanischen im Nominalbereich*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Schaffner, Stefan (2015): Zu den altkeltischen Flussnamen mit *n*-Suffix. In: Anreiter, Peter/ Weinberger, Helmut (eds.): *Tagungsakten des internationalen namenkundlichen Symposiums in Kals am Großglockner (12.–15. Juni 2014)*. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 212–264.
- Sims-Williams, Patrick (2006): *Ancient Celtic place-names in Europe and Asia Minor*. Oxford/Malden: Blackwell.
- Sopeña, Gabriel (2005): Celtiberian ideologies and religion. In: *Journal of interdisciplinary Celtic studies 6: The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula. e-Keltoi*, 347–410.
- Schwab, Vinzenz (2017): *Volkssprachige Wörter in Pactus und Lex Alamannorum*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press.
- Smith, Barry/Mark, David M. (1999): Ontology with human subjects testing. An empirical investigation of geographic categories. In: *American journal of economics and sociology* 58:2, 245–272.
- Smith, Barry/Mark, David M. (2001): Geographical categories. An ontological investigation. In: *International journal of geographical information science* 15:7, 591–612.
- Smith, Barry/Mark, David M. (2003): Do mountains exist? Towards an ontology of landforms. In: *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 30:3, 411–427.
- Sommerfeld, Aloys (1971): Das altpreußische Wort „pannean“ in ostpreußischen Flurnamen. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 75, 143–149.
- Strandberg, Svante (2016): River names. In: Hough, Carole (ed.): *The Oxford handbook of names and naming*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard (1983): How language structures space. Theory, research, and application. In: Pick, Herbert L./Acredolo, Linda P. (eds.): *Spatial orientation*. New York: Plenum Press, 225–282.
- Tulving, Endel (1972): Episodic and semantic memory. In: Tulving, Endel/Donaldson, Wayne (eds.): *Organization of memory*. New York: Academic Press.
- Udolph, Jürgen (1991): Die Ortsnamen auf *-ithi*. In: Eichler, Ernst (ed.): *Probleme der älteren Namensschichten. Leipziger Symposion, 21.–22. November 1989*. Heidelberg: Winter, 85–145.
- Wagner, Norbert (2008): Pernopah und Ohsnofurt. Zur Synkope von Mittelvokalen nach langer Silbe. In: *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* NF 43:2, 167–171.
- Wodtko, Dagmar (2011): Besprechung von Búa 2009. In: *Namenkundliche Informationen* 2011, 215–220.